

**The New Beginnings Community Development Project: Social
capacity as prerequisite for sustainability.**

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy (Community and Development) at
the University of Stellenbosch**

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Declaration

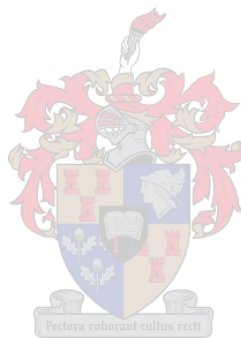
I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any University for a degree.

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Cedric Loots

Date



Abstract

The South African wine industry has a history of super-exploitation. Wine farm labour practices such as paternalism, tied housing, tied employment and the tot system have maintained farm worker communities in a trapped and dependent position. Within these trapped farm worker communities social pathologies such as alcohol abuse, a highly unstable family life, illegitimacy and illiteracy are common. On an individual level, members of these communities are predominantly low in self-confidence, self-esteem, self-reliance etc. On a communal level, domestic violence, child battering, drunken brawls, knife stabbings etc. are common in farm worker communities.

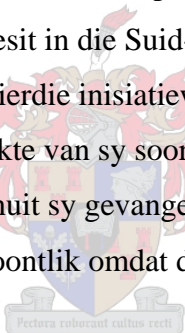
In response to these conditions in wine farm worker communities, a number of initiatives have been launched within the South African wine industry. This research study focuses on one of these initiatives, called the New Beginnings project. As one of the first projects of its kind, it succeeded in releasing a farm worker community from its trapped and dependent position. This was the outcome since the project succeeded as a community development process.

The community development process is essentially about building or increasing social capacity. The building of social capacity refers to a process whereby both agency and solidarity are increased within a community. Agency or capacity building has to do with the building of values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and personal qualities, e.g. self-esteem and self-reliance, of individual community members, while solidarity has to do with the building of cohesion, trustful relationships and connectivity among various community members. The New Beginnings project illustrates that community development practice that abide by guiding principles that aim to achieve both agency and solidarity building within a community, would eventually result in the sustainability of the project.

Opsomming

Die Suid-Afrikaanse wynbedryf het 'n geskiedenis van super-eksplorasie. Arbeidspraktyke soos paternalisme, gebonde behuising, gebonde indiensneming asook die dopstelsel het verseker dat plaaswerker-gemeenskappe in 'n gevange en afhanklike posisie gehou word. Die gevolg is dat sosiale euwels soos alkohol-misbruik, 'n hoogs onstabiele gesinslewe, onwettigheid asook ongeletterdheid algemeen voorkom in hierdie gevange plaaswerker-gemeenskappe. Op 'n individuele vlak, het die oorgrote meerderheid lede van hierdie gemeenskappe min selfvertroue en selfwaarde. Op 'n gemeenskaplike vlak, kom gesinsgeweld, kindermishandeling, dronkmansbakeiery en messtekery algemeen voor in plaaswerker-gemeenskappe.

As teenvoeter vir die bogenoemde toestande in plaaswerker-gemeenskappe, is verskeie inisiatiewe aan die gang gesit in die Suid-Afrikaanse wynbedryf. Hierdie navorsingstudie fokus op een van hierdie inisiatiewe, genaamd die 'New Beginnings' projek. As een van die eerste projekte van sy soort, het hierdie projek daarin geslaag om 'n plaaswerker-gemeenskap vanuit sy gevange en afhanklike posisie te bevry. Die resultaat van die projek was juis moontlik omdat die projek as 'n gemeenskaps-ontwikkelings-proses geslaag het.



Die gemeenskaps-ontwikkelings-proses gaan hoofsaaklik oor die bou of vermeerdering van sosiale kapasiteit. Die bou van sosiale kapasiteit verwys na 'n proses waartydens beide agentskap en solidariteit binne 'n gemeenskap vermeerder word. Agentskap of kapasiteitsbou het te make met die skep van waardes, houdings, kennis, vaardighede asook persoonlike eienskappe, bv. selfwaarde en selfstandigheid, van individuele gemeenskapslede, terwyl solidariteit te doen het met die bou of skep van samehorigheid, betroubare verhoudings en 'n eenheidsgevoel tussen verskeie gemeenskapslede. Die 'New Beginnings' projek wys dat gemeenskaps-ontwikkelings-praktyk wat hou by die riglyne om beide agentskap en solidariteit binne 'n gemeenskap te bou, uiteindelik tot die volhoubaarheid van die projek aanleiding sal gee.

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To my loving parents – Danie and Charmaine Loots – I am indebted to your support and encouragement throughout my study years. Thank you for giving me this opportunity.

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A special thank you to all my research subjects for your willingness to participate in this study.

And lastly but not least, my promoter, Prof Groenewald, as well as other members of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology who have shared their time, knowledge and experience selflessly.

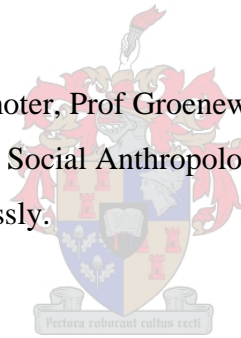


Figure 1: Location map of New Beginnings (at Nelson's Creek)

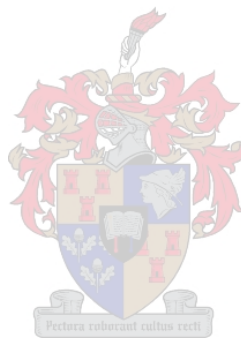
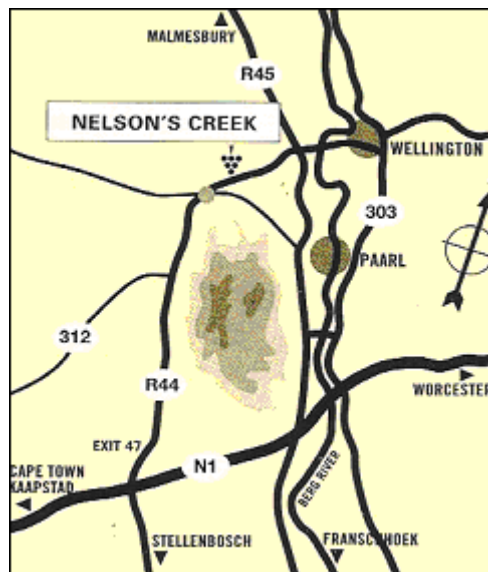


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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The breaking down of political barriers and the redressing of historical wrongs in South Africa have resulted in people from disadvantaged communities emerging as wine farmers and winemakers in the Cape wine lands for the very first time.

Historically, people from disadvantaged communities provided the labour on which the South African wine industry is based. In 2004 round about 100 000 people from historically disadvantaged groups were employed directly in the industry, which supports a total of approximately 215 000 jobs in the wider economy¹.

Altogether, a number of initiatives have been launched within the South African wine industry in order to redress the imbalances/inequalities of the past. On an industry level, organisations such as the South African Wine and Brandy Company² (SAWB) and the South African Wine Industry Trust³ (SAWIT) have been the driving force behind an ongoing education drive within the wine industry. This education drive includes, amongst other things, initiatives such as the launching of a Wine Education Fund (WEF)⁴ in order to build a core of black⁵ wine students as well as the establishment of a Vineyard Academy to train vineyard workers.⁶

¹ Estimates from the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) website: www.sawit.co.za (accessed on 3 November 2004). According to some Academics this estimate is inflated, and only 65 000 people from historically disadvantaged groups are employed directly in the wine industry.

² SAWB is a Section-21 company uniting wine grape growers, producers, labourers and merchants in a bid to make the wine and brandy industries more globally competitive through the implementation of the Wine Industry Strategy Plan (WIP) (Platter 2004: 11).

³ SAWIT focuses on transforming the wine industry through its Section-21 companies BUSCO and DEVCO. BUSCO is a Wine Industry Business Support Company that focuses on the commercial development and promotion of the SA wine industry. DEVCO is a Wine Industry Development Support Company that focuses on the establishment of new wine farmers from previously disadvantaged groups as well as the support/upliftment of farm workers and communities. DEVCO also guides the Wine Education Fund (WEF) (Platter 2004: 11).

⁴ The Wine Education Fund (WEF) focuses primarily on financing students who enrol at the University of Stellenbosch for a B.Sc Degree in Agriculture, specialising in either viticulture or oenology/winemaking. However, assistance is also given to third-year diploma students at Elsenburg Agricultural College in Stellenbosch, provided they are studying cellar technology.

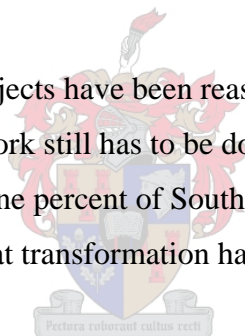
⁵ “Black” is a generic term which includes African, Coloured and Indian students, all of whom form part of the historically disadvantaged group.

⁶ SAWB website: www.sawb.co.za (accessed on 3 November 2004).

On a farm level, a number of Cape wine farmers have established joint ventures with their workers to give them part ownership and to transfer skills in wine farm management as well as winemaking over to them. There have also been a number of private initiatives to extend vineyard ownership to communities living in winemaking regions, where proceeds from wine sales are used to improve the quality of life of the residents⁷.

As a result of the above-mentioned ventures, several wine labels have been established, such as New Beginnings, Freedom Road, Fair Valley, Thandi, Helderkruijn, Uitzicht and Winds of Change. These development projects have, without a doubt, set the tone for future development projects within the South African wine industry.

Although a few development projects have been reasonably successful in the South African wine industry, a lot of work still has to be done in the near future. At the moment (i.e. in 2004) less than one percent of South Africa's wine industry is black-owned.⁸ This is an indication that transformation has only started within this industry.



According to SAWIT chairman, Gavin Pieterse, “transformation of the SA wine industry can only be achieved if proper governance is instituted, new ownership is encouraged and supported, poverty alleviation is pro-actively addressed, and skills development is viewed as a critical imperative.”⁹

All in all, to realize the vision of creating a “vibrant, united, non-racial and prosperous South African wine industry” represents a formidable challenge. The wine industry is characterized by high barriers to entry in terms of capital, market information and skills requirements. These barriers effectively exclude the majority of black South

⁷ These farm level initiatives would not be possible, in the majority of cases, without the financial assistance from government in the form of grants and subsidies. Except for government grants and subsidies, loans are also made in some cases to finance such initiatives.

⁸ M Karaan (Researcher, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Stellenbosch) Personal Communication, November 2004.

Africans from participation in the industry as entrepreneurs, and also inhibit the pace of land ownership reform within the industry (Tregurtha 2004: 1).

1.1 THE NEW BEGINNINGS PROJECT

The New Beginnings project is a community development project, taking place in the Western Cape province of South Africa, specifically in the wine-producing region known as Paarl. This specific project is a very special and important one, as it is one of the first projects of its kind to take place in the South African wine industry. It is known to be the first black-owned wine-producing farm in South Africa.¹⁰ As a result, several of the new community development projects occurring in the South African wine industry today, are modelled on the New Beginnings venture.

Up to date, little, if any, academic/scientific documentation has been compiled on this specific case study. The same goes for other similar cases, i.e. community development projects in the South African wine industry. A great need thus exists to conduct academic/scientific studies on these cases/projects.

Furthermore, by conducting an academic study on the New Beginnings project, future ventures would be able to learn from this experience. Only if the New Beginnings case, as well as other similar cases, are known and well described, would future ventures be able to follow in the footsteps of such success routes and as a result, be able to avoid making unnecessary mistakes.

Over and above the learning experience, readers also need to be guided in the quality of the New Beginnings development process as a community development process. In other words, readers need to be showed that the New Beginnings development process did succeed as a community development exercise, which resulted in the continued existence of the project at the end of the day.

⁹ SAWIT website: www.sawit.co.za (accessed on 3 November 2004).

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The first objective of the study is to academically document the story of the New Beginnings Community Development Project. I want to understand the dynamics of this specific community development project by answering the following broad questions:

- How did the project initially start?
- On whose initiative did the project start?
- Who were the main role-players during the project?
- What were the various phases of the project?
- What difficulties were experienced during the project, if any?
- What lessons can be learned from this project, both positives and negatives?

The second objective of the study is to show the reader that the various principles of person and community development that are discussed throughout the course of the study are both present and successfully operating within the New Beginnings Project.

The final objective of the study is to prove to the reader that not only is the various principles of person and community development both present and successfully operating within this project, but also that these principles are fundamental in the continuation of this project, as well as other similar projects, in the long run.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

One of the main objectives of this study is to tell the story of a community of people and their involvement in a community development project. For this purpose a *qualitative research design* was followed. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 278) there are three main types of qualitative research designs, namely: *ethnographic studies*, *case studies* and *life histories*.

¹⁰ The project started in May/June 1997. It was a pioneering project for its time, as it was one of the first community development projects in the South African wine industry that went hand in hand with the ownership reform of land.

Some authors (e.g. Hammersley 1990) reason that the term “ethnographic” research includes both the case study and life history, while other authors (e.g. Robson 1993) maintain that the “life history” is a special form of the case study. Be as it may, these three design types share many similarities and in social research practice it is not unusual for researchers to use these terms interchangeably (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 279).

In this study, I used the *case study* as my research design. The case study is an *intensive investigation of a single unit* (Yin 1994). The unit of study may be anything from an individual person, a family and a community to even a country (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 281). In this study the unit of study is a community.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It is important in case studies of all kinds to use *multiple sources of data*. The use of more than one method to collect data (also called *triangulation*) makes it possible for the researcher to give an *in-depth /thick* description of the phenomena studied (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 283). Furthermore, the *replication* of data increases the confidence the researcher can have that a certain finding is reliable (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 282). This implies that the use of multiple data collection methods will increase the *reliability* and thus the *validity* of the research data.

In this study, I made use of three different methods to collect my qualitative data, i.e. *individual interviews*, *focus group interviews* and *consulting documentary sources*¹¹.

1.4.1 Individual interviews

¹¹ The only option I had available regarding the collection of my qualitative data (except for consulting documentary sources) was to use the qualitative research methodology of self-reporting, specifically individual interviews and focus group interviews. I couldn't opt for the very important qualitative research methodology of observation, and specifically participant observation in a natural field setting, since I wasn't part of the community study at any stage to observe phenomena. Therefore, the only research methodology option available to me was to report the story after the fact (Mouton 2001: 99).

There are various types of individual interviews, which can range from a type of individual interview that has no structure whatsoever (i.e. no set series of questions) to a type of individual interview that is fully structured (precisely according to a predetermined set of questions).

I opted for the type of individual interview known as an *open interview*. This type of interview has no predetermined series of questions asked in a specific order and according to a specific wording. Instead the researcher has a *checklist* of issues or possible questions at hand that might be asked during the course of the interview, especially at times when the researcher deems it necessary, e.g. when the respondent doesn't speak very freely and needs to be kept going or when the respondent speaks so freely that he/she goes outside the scope of the research interest and has to be guided back to the issues of importance to the researcher.

This type of interview is very similar to normal conversation. The reason for this is because the interview style is very free flowing and natural, just as in normal everyday conversation. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 289) an open interview is “essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. Ideally, the respondent [should do] most of the talking.”

Because an open interview is “flexible...rather than prepared in advance and locked in stone” (Rubin & Rubin 1995: 43) the research data collected will be more in line with the topics/issues raised by the respondent and thus would be more accurate.

I conducted a total of eight individual interviews, all of which were done in the style of an open interview. All individual interviews were conducted with participants of the New Beginnings Community Development Project. The first three interviews were conducted towards the end of September 2001.¹² Each of the three interviews took approximately two hours to conduct. The following three participants were interviewed:

- 1) Victor Titus: the facilitator of the project.
- 2) Pieter Jacobs: the Chairman of the committee (at that point in time).
- 3) Danny Hurling: the Administrator and Bookkeeper that was employed by the community (at that point in time).

The remaining five interviews were conducted during October and November 2004. The following five participants were interviewed due to their availability and willingness to participate in my research study (duration of specific interview in brackets):

- 1) Arthur Jacobs: current New Beginnings committee member and previous Chairman of the committee (three hour interview).
- 2) Pieter Jacobs: current New Beginnings committee member and previous Chairman of the committee (30 minute interview).
- 3) Jane Jacobs: sole female shareholder of New Beginnings (one hour interview).
- 4) Marlene Jacobs: previous New Beginnings committee member (one hour interview).
- 5) Solly Hendricks: shareholder of New Beginnings and cellar-assistant to the winemaker at Nelson's Creek (45 minute interview).

1.4.2 Focus groups

In some ways, the focus group interview is very similar to the basic individual interview. The researcher can proceed in much the same way as he would in the basic individual interview. The only difference is that he will need to facilitate the conversation for the whole group, rather than for one individual, and also that he will need to facilitate the group process (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 292).

The reason why I decided to do focus group interviews, was because individuals interviewed on their own and the same individuals put together in a group might come

¹² This was my first visit to New Beginnings farm. I only conducted three interviews as part of an assignment/essay for my Masters degree.

up with a different set of information altogether. In this regard, the focus group interviews could be very valuable to identify gaps in my information/data. Furthermore, the focus group data could also be used to test the *reliability* of the individual interview data. The higher the similarity was between the focus group data and the individual interview data, the higher the *reliability* and the *validity* would be of my research data. Regarding my research study, my individual interview data and focus group data had a very high level of similarity.

I conducted a total of two focus group interviews. One focus group was done with some of the men within the community, while the other focus group was done with some of the women within the community. I only decided to do one focus group with each, because the entire community (community of farm workers residing on a wine estate) consisted of an adult population of only about 35 people in total.

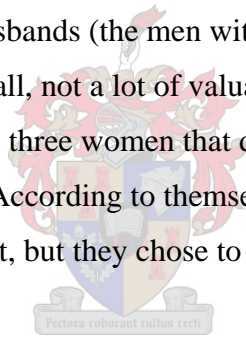
The interview style I used during my focus group discussions was exactly the same as the style I used during all of my individual interviews, i.e. my interview style was very free flowing and natural, just as in normal everyday conversation. This implies that I didn't make use of a predetermined series of questions asked in a specific order and according to a specific wording. Instead I had a *checklist* of issues or possible questions at hand to support the flow of the discussion/conversation if necessary.

1.4.2.1 Focus group with men

This focus group was done on the 19th of October 2004. Because all of the men from the New Beginnings community were farm workers at Nelson's Creek, the focus group discussion took place after their working day. It started at about 5:30 pm and lasted for about two hours. Ten of the 18 men in the community attended the focus group discussion. In general, most of the participants (round about 70%) took part in the discussion out of their own free will and highlighted their personal experiences since being part of the New Beginnings Community Development Project.

1.4.2.2 Focus group with women

This focus group was done on the 9th of November 2004. As was the case with the men, most of the women from the New Beginnings community worked on the farm Nelson's Creek. As a result the focus group discussion took place after their working day. It started at about 5:30 pm and lasted for about one hour. Only 3 of the 17 women in the community attended the focus group discussion. The reason for the low attendance figure was mainly because the general feeling among the majority of the women within the community was that the men (their husbands) were responsible for things regarding the running of the business. Their response was that since they were not interested in attending meetings, because they trusted their husbands to handle things, I had to talk with their husbands (the men within the community) regarding the New Beginnings Project. All in all, not a lot of valuable information was collected during this focus group, since the three women that did participate also advised me to rather talk with their husbands. According to themselves, they indeed had the option to be more involved in the project, but they chose to leave it in the hands of their husbands.¹³



1.4.3 Documents consulted

Various documentary sources were consulted to gather research data. The facilitator of the project was kind enough to make available various forms of documentation he compiled on the project during the course of the project. This included various summaries made regarding major moments/events during the course of the project.

Furthermore, I also consulted policy documents of the project (e.g. the Constitution of the project), examples of minutes of meetings compiled, signed agreements, press releases released by the New Beginnings office, etc.

¹³ This is a situation that needs some more comment, from both a gender-sensitive point of view as well as a development point of view. I will be coming back to this particular attitude expressed by women at a later stage of this study, i.e. in Chapter 5: Analysis and Interpretation.

I also studied various newspaper and magazine articles compiled on this specific community development project.

All of the above-mentioned documentary sources, in conjunction with the research data collected by means of individual and focus group interviews, made it possible for me as the researcher to academically document the story of the New Beginnings Community Development Project.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

In order for me to reach my research objectives, I am going to start off my study by discussing why the New Beginnings project is so important. As a result, **Chapter 2** will look at the *historical conditions* that farm workers have experienced on the majority of wine farms in South Africa in the past. This chapter will thus highlight the historical significance of my study.

In **Chapter 3**, as part of my literature review, I am firstly going to give my working definition for the concept '*community development*'. Secondly, the two interrelated parts or processes of the community development process will be discussed. Finally, I am going to list and discuss the various *principles* necessary to make community development projects feasible and sustainable, in other words, to ensure its long-term continuation.

Chapter 4 is the empirical part of my research study. In this chapter, the findings of my case study will be presented. As a result, my research data will be used to tell the *story* of the New Beginnings Community Development Project.

In **Chapter 5** I am going to *analyse* and *interpret* the New Beginnings project. This will be done within the context of the historical conditions of wine farm workers in South Africa (Chapter 2) as well as the guiding principles for community development practice (Chapter 3).

In the final chapter, **Chapter 6**, conclusions are drawn. Final remarks will be made and recommendations will be given regarding future research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

“Unlike in many other wine-producing regions of the world, the work in a Western Cape winery is highly labour- intensive. Most of the Cape farms are large, and the community of labourers on each one is more like a village than it is elsewhere. For more than three centuries many have been the residential base for at least a dozen families, some of which have made their home on a particular farm for generation after generation.”

(Excerpt taken from Cape Wines: Body and Soul)



Well over half of all farms in the South African Wine Industry have been inherited, having been in the same family for an average of 80 years (Bekker et al 1999: 13). According to Ewert et al (1998:26), fewer than 30% of South African wine farm owners in 1998 were first generation owners, and of these, only a third – including a growing foreign clientele – have entered the industry since 1990. This situation is very similar today (in 2004), i.e. that the majority of wine farm owners in South Africa are still those that have inherited the ‘family farm’.

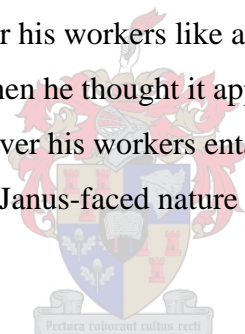
The vast majority of all farm workers live on these ‘family farms’. As a result, the farm owner, his family and the resident coloured farm workers and their families are bound together by the same language, religion and shared space (Bekker et al 1999: 14). In a nutshell, they are all members of one *farm community* (du Toit 1993: 321). But this so-called ‘farm community’ is unlike any other community. Although farmers and farm workers have a mutual dependence and share a common

environment, this does not necessarily suggest a sense of community and intimacy on the farm. As a matter of fact, the opposite is true in the majority of cases. The farm community is usually a highly divided and stratified community (Isaacs 2003: 38). The farmers' ownership of the land and the underlying master-servant relationship eventually shatter any apparently common interests (Human Rights Watch 2000).

2.1 FARM WORKERS' EXPERIENCE ON WESTERN CAPE WINE FARMS BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

2.1.1 Traditional paternalism

Before the 1980's, labour arrangements on South African wine farms could be described as "authentic, undiluted paternalism" (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 208). This meant that the farmer looked after his workers like a father after his 'children' - benevolently, but also harshly when he thought it appropriate (Bekker et al 1999: 14). The farmer's parental authority over his workers entailed a mixture of punishments and rewards, which reflected the Janus-faced nature of this particular system (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 208).



Traditional paternalism, as a method of farm management, viewed the farm as a family, with the farmer occupying a central position of unchallengeable authority (du Toit 1993: 314). The farmer was viewed as the father of the workers¹⁴, in other words the one who occupied the place of the father and who took responsibility for the workers (du Toit 1993: 320). In a highly *hierarchical* relationship between white farm owner/management and coloured¹⁵ farm workers, the white farm management occupied the higher levels of the hierarchy, while the farm workers occupied the lower levels.

¹⁴ In the case of traditional paternalism, the perception of the farm as 'family' and the farmer as the 'father of the family' was shared by both farmer and farm worker alike, according to the very influential study on paternalism by Andries du Toit.

¹⁵ 'Coloured' refers to descendants of unions between white settlers, khoi-khoi, imported slaves and African people since the colonization of the Cape in the mid-seventeenth century. Close to 80% of coloured people live in the Western Cape. They are the largest of all ethnic groups in the region and have traditionally provided the labour on wine, fruit and wheat farms (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 218).

The relationship between the farmer and the farm worker was far removed from the cash nexus that defined the relationship between management and workers in industry (Bekker et al 1999: 14). When a worker started working on a farm, he was not merely entering a business relationship, but he was also becoming “part of one family” and “part of the farm”. In other words, the worker “belonged” to the farm. Farm worker rights were minimal and parental authority near absolute (du Toit 1993: 320).

By belonging to the farm, the farm worker also belonged to either the farm manager or the farm owner. At the end of the day, what happened was that both the farm worker and his family that lived on the farm with him became *completely dependent* on the farmer for their entire existence (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989: 1). In what Isaacs (2003: 39) calls the ‘*cycle of dependency*’, the farm worker was retained at a level of complete dependence on the farm owner by receiving a minimal cash wage, also called a ‘poverty wage’ by some authors, which was supplemented by ‘payments in kind’, such as food rations as well as housing. Needless to say, the cash part of the wage was the lowest wage paid amongst those formally employed across all economic sectors in South Africa (Republic of South Africa 2001: 13). Furthermore, the ‘payment in kind’ part of the wage consisted of housing that was usually very poor, overcrowded as well as unhygienic (Isaacs 2003: 37).



2.1.2 Tied housing

A central component of farm arrangements were that many workers not only worked on the farm, but also lived there (Isaacs 2003: 36). As a result, housing was either a form of payment in kind, or part of the terms of their contract. In other words, for many farm workers, the loss of their job also meant the loss of their house. This meant that the farmer was able to exercise control over the farm workers’ daily bread, as well as over the roof over their heads. This resulted in the increase of farm workers’ dependence on the farmer, which contributed significantly to the imbalance of power between the farm owner and his farm workers (Mayson, Jacobs & Isaacs 2001).

According to a study conducted by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (1989: 6), the fact that a farm worker's job and home were tied put the farm worker in a position what they called '*the house trap*'.

"[The house trap] gave the wine farmers one of their most effective means of ensuring the subservience of not only individual workers but also their entire families, in and out of working hours. Eviction was the farmer's ultimate weapon, against which workers had no protection...Both job and house could be withdrawn with immediate effect for any of a wide variety of 'crimes', according to the 'laws' decreed by the farmer...An evicted worker seldom took a reference with him, and homelessness and starvation were only too real an alternative to whatever terms a prospective employer dictated."

Inevitably, the situation of 'tied housing' compelled the majority of farm workers to accept their minimal wages as well as their poor working and living conditions. Their options were very limited. They could either accept their deprived conditions and be assured of at least a roof over their head, even if dilapidated, for them and their families, or be faced with homelessness and starvation.

2.1.3 Tied employment

Tied employment refers to a situation that existed on the majority of wine farms where a woman didn't have the right to live and work on the farm, except through her attachment to a male labourer who worked on the farm in exchange for the house they occupied. Only in very rare instances was a woman allowed to keep her home after her husband died.

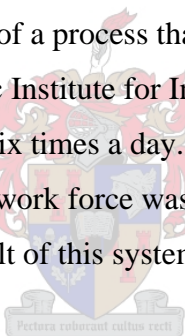
More often than not, a major condition of employment was that a worker's wife had to be available to do farm work whenever needed. What happened was that the women were paid at a piece-rate when they worked, and not paid at all the rest of the time. Although farm workers' wives were allowed to have jobs off the farm, regular attendance was almost impossible, since the farmer had first option, at short notice.

Failure to comply with this rule signified pressure on the husband, including punishment and ultimately, eviction of the whole family. As a result, women found themselves in a 'trapped' position where they couldn't gain other skills and couldn't escape dependence on their men (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989).

2.1.4 The *dop* (tot) system

Up until the 1970's, the *dop* (tot) system was a common labour practice on the majority of South African wine farms, largely due to the fact that it was legal for farmers to utilize this system (Knox & Proust 1997: 55). This system was without a doubt one of the most destructive labour practices in the history of South Africa.

The tot system refers to a practice where farm workers were paid in kind with alcohol. Although some farmers called it a '*fringe benefit*' during the heyday of the application of the system, in reality it was part of a process that kept labour poor, disorganised, immobile and subservient (Catholic Institute for International relations 1989:1). In general, wine was dispersed up to six times a day. In so doing, a permanently intoxicated and alcohol-dependent work force was created (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 218). Needless to say, the end result of this system was a counter-productive labour force (Knox & Proust 1997: 55).



Although the tot system was declared illegal during the 1970's, the majority of wine farmers still continued with this practice until the end of the Apartheid era. Even though new laws prohibited this practice, there was no enforcement of the law and in general, farmers never took much notice of the laws. Most farmers thought of their workers as hopeless drunken fools who could never survive if left on their own without the 'grace' and 'goodwill' of the farmer. These farmers believed that the tot system persisted, because of the farm workers' inherent weakness. In other words, they felt that their workers would not be able to work without it (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989: 3 - 4).

2.1.4.1 Alcohol Abuse

The continued use of the tot system caused a high incidence of individual alcoholism among farm workers. Heavy drinkers were both male and female and as a result, alcoholism didn't only affect individuals, but also families and whole farm worker communities. Alcohol abuse became an "*ingrained habit*" in the culture of farm worker communities.¹⁶ Sustained alcohol abuse within farm worker families and communities resulted in drunken brawls, knife stabbings, domestic violence, child battering and various other forms of aggressive behaviour. Furthermore, it was also one of the main contributors to malnutrition, poor hygiene and high tuberculosis rates within farm worker communities. In general, sustained alcohol abuse resulted in farm workers' weakening resistance to disease (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989: 7 - 9).

In general, a highly intoxicated adult community resulted in poor parenting and consequently into a highly unstable family life. Most children were in a very vulnerable position and child neglect and child battering were widespread. Heavy drinking resulted in high rates of child malnutrition, especially among young children, who were particularly vulnerable to brain damage from protein deficiencies. A poor diet, poor housing as well as overcrowding left children prone to disease (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989: 8).

2.1.4.2 Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS)

Many women consumed alcohol during pregnancy, often heavily, and when a pregnant woman consumed alcohol, so did her unborn baby. This was the case, since alcohol freely crossed the placenta and maternal and foetal blood levels were essentially the same. High levels of alcohol consumed during pregnancy, affected the development of the unborn baby and resulted in a range of abnormalities from growth deficiency, to malformation, and even death (Williams 1999: 2).

¹⁶ The Globe Magazine website:
http://www.ias.org.uk/publications/theglobe/99issue3/globe9903_p7.html. Accessed on 29/05/2005.

Due to the high incidence of FAS within farm worker communities, the stillbirth rate on farms was high. Furthermore, *most* children within farm worker communities also suffered from stunted growth, which is without a doubt one of the most common visible abnormalities of FAS (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1989: 8).

2.1.5 Neo-paternalism

Since the early 1980's, traditional paternalism, both as an ideology and as a material system of control, has been challenged (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 208). The major force behind this process of change was the launching of wine industry-driven development initiatives, particularly the 'Rural Foundation'.¹⁷ Its programmes were mainly aimed at the 'social upliftment'¹⁸ of farm worker families living on the farm (Bekker et al 1999).

Almost one third of all wine farmers became members¹⁹ of the 'Rural Foundation' at one stage or another (Bekker et al 1999: 14). Their main reasons were twofold: Firstly, social development initiatives reduced social costs on the farm. Secondly, the implementation of such development initiatives resulted in a much more productive work force, which, in turn, dramatically improved the poor image of the wine industry in the face of looming economic sanctions (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 209).

As a result of these community development initiatives, the relationship between the farm worker and the farmer was affected on these farms. Because farmers consulted their workers for the very first time and also involved them in productivity projects, even though it was limited, traditional paternalism started to corrode. The employment relationship between farmer and worker was partially formalised through the establishment of worker committees as well as grievance and disciplinary procedures on these farms (Bekker et al 1999: 15). As a result, on the eve of the new political era, old-style traditional paternalism had to make way for the rise of '*neo-*

¹⁷ The Rural Foundation was a rural, non-governmental organisation that worked with both employers and farmworkers.

¹⁸ The Rural Foundation's programmes for 'social upliftment' consisted of programmes that were specifically aimed at promoting the health, social stability and productivity of farm worker families living on the farm.

¹⁹ The farmers that joined the Rural Foundation in its efforts were usually the more progressive, less coercive ones.

paternalism’ on some farms. In essence, where traditional paternalism was said to be little short of despotic and ultra-exploitative, neo-paternalism was a kind of ‘super-exploitation’ that had been ‘*modernised*’, both in a technological and in a social sense (Marcus 1989).

2.2 FARM WORKERS’ EXPERIENCE ON WESTERN CAPE WINE FARMS AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

2.2.1 Passing of new legislation

Before the democratic transition in South Africa (pre-1994), the general situation for farm workers was one where they did not receive protection under any labour legislation. Their employment rights were almost exclusively covered by common law. This situation strengthened the inherent inequalities of the employment relationship on wine farms, of which one of the main features was the dismissal of farm workers without reason (Centre for Rural Legal Studies 1994: 2). The fact that farmers had the right to dismiss and evict workers without reason was a powerful weapon in maintaining the status quo and as a result, prevented any possible labour action on the side of the farm worker²⁰ (Isaacs 2003: 29).

After the democratic transition in South Africa (post-1994), a whole series of protective legislation has been applied to the agricultural sector. Its main purpose was to reduce the vulnerability of farm workers (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 210). In essence, the new protective legislation focused on two fundamental issues: Firstly, regarding the *issue of labour*, two Acts that governed labour were passed, i.e. the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995 and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1997.²¹ These two Acts provided farm workers, for the very first time, with a formal framework for the right to organise and the right to basic conditions of employment.

²⁰ Pre-1994, labour organising or collective bargaining by farm workers was usually viewed as a ‘crime’ by farmers, with the end result being eviction for the initiators (CIIR 1989: 7).

²¹ The very first pieces of labour legislation to be extended to agriculture were the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) and the Agricultural Labour Act (ALA) – in 1993 and 1994 respectively.

Secondly, regarding the *issue of tenure security*, two pieces of legislation were also passed, i.e. the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996 and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) of 1997. These two Acts were passed to protect farm workers and labour tenants²² from arbitrary²³ evictions and to provide mechanisms for them to obtain long-term security of tenure. These Acts recognised the legitimate tenure rights of people who lived on farms (Isaacs 2003: 31).

The passing of these laws created a situation where farm workers obtained new rights, which was a great thing. The main challenge, however, was for farm workers to understand the new laws, and the rights that went hand-in-hand with them, for farmers to respect these rights and for government to enforce the laws. Ideally, if this challenge could be successfully met at all levels, a situation could be created in which farm workers would be able to sell their labour and as a result, be freed from exploitation (Isaacs 2003: 42).

In reality, however, it is not that easy. For starters, the majority of farm workers are usually passive and ignorant about their rights, especially their rights regarding unionisation and collective bargaining (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 216). This, among other things, contributes to a situation of weak union organisation in the farm sector. Adding to this, the fact that a considerable amount of farmers do not comply with the new legislation, as well as a lack of state capacity regarding inspection and law enforcement, these new laws still have a long way to go in realising its ideal of freeing farm workers from their situation of exploitation (Bekker et al 1999: 15).

2.2.1.1 Social security and labour rights

The BCEA of 1993 was replaced by the BCEA of 1997, while the ALA of 1994 was replaced by the LRA of 1995 (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 216).

²² In South Africa, the labour tenant system is mostly confined to two provinces, i.e. Kwazulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. According to the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996 labour tenants are defined as people who have the right to live on a farm, and have the right – or whose parents or grandparents had the right – to cropping and grazing land in return for providing labour (Isaacs 2003: 47). In general, labour tenancy has never been a popular system within the South African wine industry, which is predominantly confined to the Western Cape province. As a result, regarding the issue of tenure security, I am going to focus my discussion of farm workers' occupational rights on the Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997.

²³ To be evicted without reason.

The area where farm workers have made most advances in the post-apartheid era is, without a doubt, in the field of social security. Before 1993 farm workers had no social security. Since then, farm workers enjoy the benefits of unemployment insurance and paid maternity leave,²⁴ a maximum work week of 45 hours, two weeks' paid holiday per annum, guaranteed sick leave as well as the payment of overtime.²⁵ Furthermore, farm workers also have the right to belong to trade unions and to bargain collectively with employers; are protected against unfair dismissals; have the explicit right to strike and have access to mediation services²⁶ (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 215 –216).

On the positive side, as a result of new labour legislation, farmers can no longer treat their workers in the same arbitrary fashion as before. Most importantly, labour legislation has begun to effectively protect farm workers against unfair dismissals. Consequently, the days when farmers could fire and evict farm workers at will are something of the past (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 216).

On the negative side, however, as I have mentioned earlier, the majority of farm workers are often passive and ignorant about their rights regarding unionisation and collective bargaining. The result is that most wine farmers still determine the remuneration and housing conditions for their workers without being challenged by workers or unions (Ewert & Hamman 1999).

Furthermore, women farm workers do not enjoy the same level of social security and labour rights as their male counterparts. According to a study conducted by Sunde and Kleinbooi (1999: 28 –29) on women farm workers on Western Cape farms, 66% of 112 women farm workers interviewed did not have written contracts with their

²⁴ These benefits are in line with the Unemployment Insurance Act (UIA) of 1993. According to this act, upon losing employment, be it through resignation, dismissal or retrenchment, the employee is entitled to payments from the fund. The payments amount to 45 per cent of the wage and are payable for a period of up to six months, depending on the length of time the employee has contributed to the fund (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 219).

²⁵ These benefits are in line with the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1997. Regarding guaranteed sick leave, a farm worker is provided for 30 days' sick leave spread over a cycle of three years (Ewert et al 1998: 42).

²⁶ All of these rights are extended to farm workers by the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995. Regarding farm workers' access to mediation services: These services are provided by the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), which was designed for the speedy resolution of labour disputes, including those in agriculture.

employers. Approximately half of women farm workers interviewed did not receive paid leave, sick leave or paid maternity leave. According to the study, “many employers still regard women as a ‘cheaper’ labour option and either ignore or are unaware of the fact that the BCEA applies to all categories of workers” (Sunde & Kleinbooi 1999: 27).

All in all, new labour law has not made a profound difference to the way most wine farmers relate to their workers. If anything, it has protected farm workers against unfair dismissals (Ewert et al 1998: 42 – 43). Although farm workers have been brought into the scope of national labour legislation, relations between farmer and worker remain largely unformalized. In other words, paternalism and informal relations still dominate how work is organised and carried out on most farms (Isaacs 2003: 38). According to Ewert and Hamman (1999: 214) ‘farm rules’ do exist and often include legal minimum standards, but are mostly unwritten, even for grievance and disciplinary procedures as well as employment contracts.



2.2.1.2 Occupational rights

As illustrated earlier in this chapter, the South African wine industry is well known for its long history of tied housing. In response to this, the new South African government passed the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) in 1997, as an attempt to strike at the heart of the tied housing system.

In essence, the aims of ESTA are:

- (a) to protect people living on farms irrespective of whether they are employed or not.
- (b) to provide people with the legal right to live on and use the land that they occupy.
- (c) to protect farm workers from unfair or arbitrary eviction.
- (d) to regulate the relationship between owners and occupiers.
- (e) to set out procedures for eviction.
- (f) to enable occupiers to apply for a government subsidy to acquire land (Isaacs 2003: 44).

According to Section 8 (3) of ESTA, an eviction may not take place when there is a labour dispute. This clearly illustrates that housing is still closely tied to employment. Although ideally ESTA might aim to separate labour and tenure rights, in reality it does nothing to transform the situation in which the provision of housing forms part of the male farm worker's remuneration package. If anything, ESTA only accomplishes the regulation of this situation. As a result, instead of transforming the tied housing situation on farms, ESTA only achieves the opposite, i.e. to assist the continuation of the trapped labour system (Isaacs 2003: 44).

On the positive side however, ESTA undermines the extent of control farmers can exert over those who live on their land (Hall et al 2001: 5). As an example of this, ESTA gives long-term occupier rights to people who have been living on the same land for ten years or more, as well as to those who are 60 or more years old. Long-term occupiers have permanent rights of residence and cannot be evicted, unless they are judged to have done something extremely wrong (Isaacs 2003: 44). Furthermore, even when the requirements for termination of residential rights have been met, a court may only allow an eviction order if it is just and reasonable under the specific circumstances. As a result, it can now take up to a year or more before an employee can legally be removed from the farm (Ewert & Hamman 1999).

A major point of concern is that women farm workers do not enjoy the same level of housing and tenure security as their male counterparts do. Provision of farm worker housing has traditionally been linked to a male worker's employment contract. The practice of traditional tied employment still continues today. According to a study conducted by Sunde & Kleinbooi (1999: 39), 47% of employers confirmed that housing for female farm workers was linked to the male partner's employment contract. This means that women and children are most vulnerable, because they are dependent on a man for their rights to residence (Isaacs 2003: 44). In this regard, ESTA has major shortcomings.

Without a doubt, ESTA is having a huge impact on farmers' housing policies. Farmers' reactions to ESTA have been varied. Some farmers are reluctant to house farm workers on their farm and as a result have opted to employ off-farm labour

(Bosman 2001: 3). These farmers are refusing workers who are not living on the farm access to existing houses on the farm, because they are fearing that workers will be given rights under ESTA and that they might bring upon themselves future costs to have workers evicted. As a result, houses are left empty, and in extreme cases farmers have flattened worker housing (Isaacs 2003: 45). Some farmers have adopted a policy of not employing any farm worker over the age of forty, in order to prevent farm workers from qualifying for lifelong residence on the farm (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 217). Others have increased evictions, often illegally and with little fear of the consequences (Hall et al 2001: 5). Furthermore, a significant amount of farmers have indicated that ESTA is a fundamental reason encouraging them to reduce the number of permanent workers on their farms (Sunde & Kleinbooi 1999: 16).

Overall, ESTA has not made a significant difference to the challenging historical conditions experienced by farm workers. Nevertheless, for the first time, evictions have been seen from the farm dwellers' point of view, and not only from that of the landowners (Isaacs 2003).



2.2.2 Living Conditions

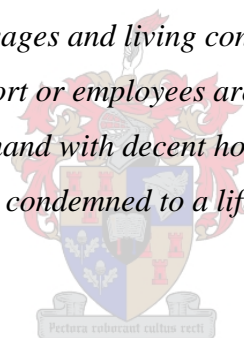
As a general rule, the living conditions of the majority of farm workers have not improved dramatically since the birth of our new democracy. This is the case since the majority of farm workers' wages have not improved dramatically. Farm workers still earn the lowest wage amongst those formally employed across all sectors in South Africa (Republic of South Africa 2001: 13).

On 1 March 2003, the latest piece of labour legislation applicable to farm workers came into effect. The determination, entitled the Sectoral Determination 8: Farm Worker Sector, promulgates minimum wage levels for farm workers. The determination sets two categories of minimum wages, namely, R800 per month or R4.10 per hour (for those working 27 hours or less per week) in 'Areas A' and R650 per month or R3.33 per hour in 'Areas B'. This determination was valid until 29 February 2004. On 1 March 2004 the minimum rates were increased to R871.58 for 'Areas A' and R713.65 for 'Areas B', respectively (Ewert & Du Toit 2005: 324). Although the setting of minimum wages is a step in the right direction, the fact

remains that wages are still too minimal for farm workers to improve their socio-economic conditions on their own.

Minimal wages aside, it is a known fact that the South African wine industry is characterized by a high level of inconsistency regarding the wages and working arrangements as well as the social conditions of farm workers. Significant differences exist between and even within regions.²⁷ What the picture would look like on a specific farm is totally dependent on the farmer and his/her outlook (Ewert et al 1998: 44). In the words of Ewert & Hamman (1999: 217):

“Whether workers live in reasonable conditions or in slummy quarters, does not depend on the farmer’s financial strength. All things being equal, it is the mindset (of the farmer) that is the crucial variable. In the absence of worker pressure, it is the farmer’s values and his/her outlook on labour that is decisive in determining wages and living conditions. If the paternalist mentality is of the benevolent sort or employees are regarded as ‘human resources’, living wages go hand in hand with decent housing. If the outlook is racist and despotic, workers remain condemned to a life of hovels, often scarcely fit for human habitation.”



2.2.3 A deepening divide in farm labour

Numerous farmers are reacting angrily to the new democratic state’s attempts to intervene in ‘their’ affairs. Minimum wages, most of all, caused huge protests in certain quarters of the organised farming lobby. Because farmers are facing a sustained challenge to their power as employers, many seem to be opting for the one measure that is still within their power, i.e. the *restructuring* of their businesses. This means that many farmers are resorting to *casualisation*²⁸, *externalisation*²⁹ and

²⁷ See KWV (1997), South African Wine industry statistics, No. 21.

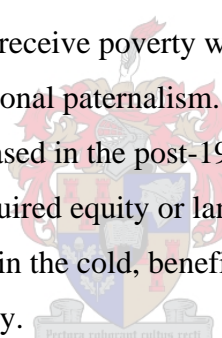
²⁸ ‘Casualisation’ refers to a reduction in the size of the permanent labour force. The current trend in the South African wine industry is an inversion of the ratio of permanent to casual workers.

²⁹ ‘Externalisation’ refers to the rise of intermediaries like labour contractors and labour brokers. In other words, it has to do with the outsourcing or subcontracting of labour management.

*contractualisation*³⁰ of their labour force. This results into a situation where an already segmented labour market, i.e. the division between permanent and seasonal labour, are divided even more (Ewert and Du Toit 2005: 326).

This ‘deep’ restructuring of the labour force into a smaller, permanent core and a growing, casual periphery, have serious consequences for rural livelihoods. Off-farm poor households live in new peri-urban settlements around towns in the Western Cape farming districts. These farm worker households lack direct access to land as well as other resources required for either household food production or independent entrepreneurial activity (Du Toit 2003). Unlike their counterparts, who live on-farm and enjoy permanent worker status with benefits, the off-farm casual labour force are not only denied access to housing, but also do not earn the statutory minimum wage most of the time.

The majority of casual labourers receive poverty wages and some of them are worse off today than in the era of traditional paternalism. Generally speaking, although the average level of wages has increased in the post-1994 South African wine industry, and some farm workers have acquired equity or land, an increasing number of casual and contract workers are left out in the cold, benefiting little, if anything, from the new export-oriented wine industry.



2.2.4 Dop-stop (“Tot-stop”)

Dop-stop is an initiative, spearheaded by a NGO³¹ with the same name, to counteract the legacy of the tot system. The organisation has been operational since 1994 and its main focus is to fight against alcohol abuse within farm worker communities.

According to the organisation, the payment in kind of alcohol has virtually disappeared on the majority of wine farms. The same cannot however be said of alcohol abuse on wine farms.³² In this regard, the legacy of the tot system has been devastating. A high incidence of individual alcoholism within farm worker

³⁰ ‘Contractualisation’ refers to re-employment under less favourable conditions (Ewert & Du Toit 2005: 324 - 326).

³¹ Non-Governmental Organisation.

communities has given rise to a situation where alcohol abuse has become “the ingrained habit in the culture of a people”.

Ironically enough, the abandonment of the tot system has created troubles of its own. It has resulted in the increasing poverty of already poor farm worker communities. Instead of receiving alcohol for free from the farmer (in the form of payment in kind), the alcohol-dependent farm workers are now obliged to buy their own alcohol. This severely reduces their minimal wages. As a result, the majority of farm worker families has less income to spend on essential needs such as food, clothing and in some instances, housing.³³

Due to the high levels of alcohol abuse of pregnant women within farm worker communities, approximately 11% of all children residing on wine farms are victims of foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). In response to this, a joint initiative between the *Dop-stop* association of the Western Cape and a British teacher for children with special needs, Sophy Warner, resulted in the launching of the Foetal Alcohol and Trauma Centre. This centre is a breakthrough, since it is a one-of-a-kind for the Western Cape. Its main aims are to support victims of FAS with their studies, to support parents with the treatment and stimulation of FAS victims and to educate young women on the dangers of alcohol abuse, especially while being pregnant.³⁴

All in all, the tot system is still haunting the wine industry. The culture of alcohol abuse on the majority of wine farms as well as the high rate of FAS within farm worker communities, continues to remind the generations of today of one of South Africa’s most destructive labour practices.

³² Madge Jackson, Acting Director of Dop-stop, personal communication, 14 July 2005.

³³ The Globe Magazine website:

http://www.ias.org.uk/publications/theglobe/99issue3/globe9903_p7.html. Accessed on 29/05/2005.

³⁴ From an article in ‘Die Burger’ Newspaper of 27 July 2004 by Liza Albrecht, entitled: “Sentrum help ná drankmisbruik”, or translated: “Centre assists after alcohol abuse”.

2.3 THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN WINE INDUSTRY

In its most recent policy papers the South African wine industry defines the major challenge as ‘creating a vibrant, united, non-racial and prosperous South African Wine Industry’.³⁵ While it acknowledges the remarkable progress made over the last decade or so, it admits that it still has a substantial way to go towards greater ‘competitiveness, sustainability and equity’.

The framework for debating change in the South African wine industry was set in *Vision 2020*, a ‘strategic study’ commissioned by Winetech³⁶ in 1999. Amongst other things, its ‘Strategic Agenda’ highlights the need of the South African wine industry to achieve ‘international competitiveness’, to shift to a ‘market-driven’ industry, the importance of ‘terroir-based production’ and ‘total-value-chain-management’. In order to achieve these goals, a highly skilled and productive labour force is necessary. Accordingly, the *Vision 2020* ‘Strategic Agenda’ also highlights the significance of ‘human development’³⁷, ‘ethical trade and social responsibility’³⁸, ‘affirmative action’ and ‘broadening the base of economic production’³⁹ (Winetech 2000: 1 - 5).

On an ideological and political level, *Vision 2020* has played an important role in the South African wine industry. It is providing a legitimising framework for the “continuation of processes of deregulation and restructuring that were already under way” in the South African wine industry. As a strategic document, however, it has significant limitations. Most importantly, neither the ‘Strategic Agenda’ nor the reports that go with it offer any clue as to how economic participation is to be broadened or how rural livelihoods can be created and sustained (Ewert & Du Toit 2005: 331).

³⁵ From the SAWB Brochure entitled *The South African Wine Industry Strategy Plan (WIP)*, p. 3.

³⁶ Wine Industry Network of Expertise and Technology

³⁷ According to *Vision 2020*, ‘human development’ will be achieved through ‘well-integrated programmes of training, education and continuous extension’ to ensure ‘world-best practices’ in the SA wine industry.

³⁸ According to *Vision 2020*, ‘ethical trade and social responsibility’ will be promoted through the ‘implementation of well-integrated ethical trade programmes and projects throughout the industry’.

³⁹ According to *Vision 2020*, ‘the wine industry believes in the principle of no discrimination based on race, class, creed or gender, and supports development programmes that will sustain and strengthen this principle in practice.’

In October 2002, the KWV created the South African Wine and Brandy Company (SAWB), a corporatist body with a council divided into four 'chambers', i.e. 'producers' (or growers), 'cellars', 'labour' and 'trade'. Fundamentally, the mission of the SAWB is to "enhance the strategic environment for the benefit of the South African wine industry", as laid out in the SAWB 'Wine Industry Plan' (WIP).⁴⁰ The 'Wine Industry Plan' is broadly based on *Vision 2020* and has been accepted in principle by the Minister of Agriculture. Consequently, the scene is set for the development of a Black Economic Empowerment Charter for the wine industry. It has to be seen whether either the 'Wine Industry Plan' or the BEE Charter will produce much in the way of concrete results for poor people living in the wine farming areas (Ewert & Du Toit 2005: 331).

The SAWB, in conjunction with VinPro and Nedbank, has also produced a policy paper on land reform in the wine industry. This policy paper is fully aware of the high entry barriers and typical pitfalls of equity share schemes. In a nutshell, it puts on the table a number of different land reform models which it regards feasible – given that specified conditions are satisfied (VinPro 2004).

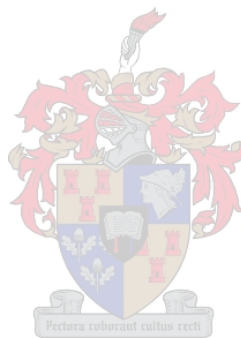
On the whole, the way forward for agriculture in South Africa is an approach where agricultural employment is supplemented by economic growth, state support for competitiveness and pro-poor welfare strategies. If this is not the case, casual and contract workers on the periphery will be doomed to scramble for a precarious existence on the margins of the Cape wine lands.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The history of the South African wine industry is one filled with paternalism, tied housing, tied employment and the tot system. This approach in managing labour has resulted in the 'trapping' of not only the farm worker, but also his entire family. This 'trapped' situation eventually gave rise to the *social pathology* of farm worker communities. Dependency, alcohol abuse, an unstable family life, illegitimacy, illiteracy etc. described the conditions in the majority of farm worker communities.

⁴⁰ From the SAWB Brochure entitled *The South African Wine Industry Strategy Plan (WIP)*, p. 8.

Although new laws have been passed in the post-Apartheid era, the conditions in the majority of farm worker communities remain dubious. Paternalism has been replaced by neo-paternalism. Tied housing and tied employment has shown a new side to it where women and children are the most vulnerable. Furthermore, the tot system is still haunting the majority of farm worker communities in the form of alcohol abuse and FAS. The end result is that farm worker communities remain in the ‘trapped’ situation in which they have found themselves since the days of Colonialism and Apartheid.



CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY

While scanning through community development literature, it becomes evident to the reader that contemporary community development is filled with *key concepts*. On the one hand, concepts such as *participation, empowerment, ownership, learning process, self-help, self-reliant* and *self-sufficient*, to name a few, ultimately focus on the first generic goal of community development, which is *agency* or *capacity-building*. Here the emphasis is more on *human development*, in the sense of the development of the person or individual through skills development and education (Bhattacharyya 2004: 5).

On the other hand, the second generic goal of community development is *solidarity*, also called *social capital*. In short, the focus moves away from the individual towards the group. Solidarity is all about sound social interaction between individuals, the building of networks and trustful relationships. This enables people (as a group or collective) to take collective measures to address shared problems (Putnam 1995).

In combination, agency and solidarity is a reflection of the contemporary approach to community development. This is one where the main emphasis is on a more *bottom-up* approach to community development, or in the words of Kretzmann and McKnight (1993), an approach that aims “to build communities from the inside out”. This implies that the people within the community have to be *actively involved* in their whole development process, i.e. from the planning phase right through to the evaluation phase.

History has proven time and time again that the mere delivery of services to poor groups of people have only resulted in the dependency creation and maintenance of people at the end of the day. This is the case since people are only passive recipients

of services. Contemporary community development efforts are thus attempting to move away from the traditional top-down approach, where service providers, governmental and private, set up projects *for* beneficiaries and not *with* them.

At the same time, it is important to mention that the active involvement of people in the development of their community alone is not sufficient to ensure successful development. This is a very utopian view of community development, which is mostly supported by the school of thought known as ‘people-managed’ development. This school of thought believes that development, which is started and controlled by civil society, is development that reduces the importance of the state and the private sector (Martinussen 1998: 332).

The fact of the matter is that effective community development calls for *micro-macro coordination* (Bhattacharyya 2004: 5). In other words, bottom-up development should not necessarily be development that excludes other role-players, such as the state and private sector, from the development process. All role-players have an important role to play. Civil society organisations, e.g. community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations, are fundamental in organising the local community (Korten 1987). The state usually supports development projects by means of financial aid, technical advice and training to name a few (Monaheng 2000: 129). The role of the private sector or business sector is typically support regarding training and financial assistance. In essence, although all role-players have an essential and distinct role to play, it is the local people within the community that should be the primary actors in the community development process (Monaheng 2000: 129). In other words, the beneficiaries of development projects should also be its main contributors (Coetzee 2001: 126).

The first question that comes to mind in a study on the topic of community development is the question: What is community development? It is thus imperative to start off my literature review by trying to answer this specific question, because in answering this question, I am giving the reader my working definition for the term ‘community development’ to be used for the duration of this study.

3.1 DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Most writers writing on the topic of community development highlight the fact that it is a difficult term to define. It is ironic to think that the very first consensus reached among various writers, is the fact that they attach different meanings to the term 'community development'.

According to my thinking, I thought the easiest and most comprehensible way to approach a working definition for the term 'community development', is to say that the term is a compound of the words 'community' and 'development'. Therefore, let us look briefly at what these two words signify.

3.1.1 Meaning of the word 'community'

Universally, the word *community* is associated with one of three definitions within the community development debate, i.e.

- (a) A group of people who live in a confined *geographical area*.
- (b) A group of people that share the same *basic interests*.
- (c) A group of people who can be defined in terms of their *needs* (Cloete et al, 1996: 3).

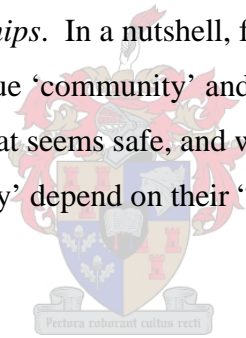
Keeping the above three definitions in mind, it becomes clear that the term *community* invariably refers to some or other *group of people*. Implicit in the use of the concept is either the image of the traditional African village or the urban squatter settlement (Midgley 1986: 24). This is the case since the literature constantly refers to the poor when dealing with community development.

In spite of a multitude attempts to define the concept 'community', it remains poorly defined in the literature. No general agreement on the meaning of 'community' exists. Why is this so? Robinson (as quoted in Cornwell 1986: 54) gives a good explanation:

“All words are ambiguous and we are bound to make falsehoods if we start by insisting without investigation that some particular word has only one sense... we should always have in mind the probability of ambiguity and the flexible nature of our vocabulary which causes it.”

So what can be said of communities with a fair measure of accuracy? Firstly, they are not homogeneous entities where all work together in a spirit of sharing. Secondly, communities can be made up of spatially separated people who share common needs and values. Most of all, communities do not wait for, and often do not need, an outsider, such as a government or an NGO official, to redeem them (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 20).

All things considered, I have to agree with Aigner et al (2002: 86 – 87) that two elements constitute the core meaning of community, namely face-to-face *social interactions* and *social relationships*. In a nutshell, from their social interactions and their relationships, people construe ‘community’ and “derive a sense of belonging, informed by what is familiar, what seems safe, and what is shared”. In other words, what people mean by ‘community’ depend on their “historical and spatial context of [their] everyday lives”.



Bhattacharrya (2004: 12) also feels that social relations are fundamental in approaching a definition of the word ‘community’. He takes it a step further by saying that “it [is] possible to distinguish a community from all other types of social relations”. Accordingly, any social configuration that possesses “*shared identity and norms*” is indeed a community, because it includes all three different understandings of the word ‘community’ within community development debate, i.e. community as shared geographical place; community as shared interests and community as shared needs.

3.1.2 Meaning of the word ‘development’

Universally, the word *development* is seen in conjunction with other terms such as *change, growth, progress, reformation, transformation* or even *revolution*.

Simplified, development can be either positive or negative and is it essentially about

change (Cloete et al, 1996: 5). It is very important to add that development is not just any change, but a *definite improvement* – a change for the better (Slim 1996: 63). According to Schutte (2000: 3), in the context of community development, development is always viewed as some or other form of *positive change*.

At the same time, development is also about *continuity*, because if change is to take root, it must have something in common with the community in question. In other words, it must make sense to people and be in line with their values and their capacity. Development must therefore be *appropriate* – culturally, socially, economically, technologically and environmentally (Slim 1996: 63).

3.1.3 Working definition for ‘community development’

Out of the above, successful community development, then, implies *positive change among people who possess shared identity and norms*. Furthermore, it is important to mention that each community that is developed must *itself determine* what form of development it requires at a given point in time (Schutte 2000: 3).

Accordingly, I thus arrive at a working definition for the term *community development*:

Community development is the gradual positive change, among people who possess shared identity and norms, towards self-determined ideals, with minimal outside interference.

For the duration of this study, the above-mentioned definition of community development should be kept in mind.

3.2 TWO INTERRELATED PARTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

As I have mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, contemporary community development debate underlines two generic goals or purposes of community development. These two goals form two interrelated parts of the community development process. On the one hand, community development efforts seek to build *agency* or *capacity*, which is all about building or developing individual community member's values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and personal traits such as self-confidence, self-esteem etc. In essence, agency is all about the empowerment of individuals (Rubin & Rubin 1986). On the other hand, community development efforts seek to build *solidarity*, which relates to *social capital*, i.e. the building of trustful relationships and connectivity among various community members.

It is essential that both capacity building and solidarity building are part and parcel of the community development process. If one of the two outweighs the other, community development efforts would not be as successful as can be. A capacity building process that lacks the building or increasing of trustful relationships and connectivity among community members would result in a situation where individual community members may well be empowered, but due to a lack of social cohesion, they might struggle to collectively solve problems, make group decisions and in effect, to get their work done. Alternatively, solidarity building that is not based on a strong and effective capacity building component would result in a situation where community members do indeed have a high level of trust and connectivity among one another, but at the same time they would fall short of the necessary capacities or abilities to mobilise themselves efficiently.

In essence, what communities need is *social capacity*, i.e. “the extent to which members of a community can work together effectively” (Mattessich et al. 2004: 61). A balanced combination of capacity building and solidarity building during the community development process would create social capacity within a community. As a result, community members would have the ability to develop and sustain strong and trustful relationships, solve problems and make group decisions efficiently and collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done.

3.2.1 Agency / Capacity building

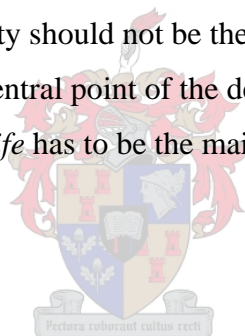
As I have mentioned earlier, the word *community* invariably refers to *a group of people*. This implies that community development has to do with the development of human beings. Of the two interrelated parts of the community development process, agency or capacity building is the part that focuses more on the development of individual community members. In other words, agency focuses more on *person development*.

Person development is a process that continues throughout the life of the human being. Each life situation entails the possibility of growth. A person is thus *constantly changing*. Person development as part of the community development process refers to a process where the person involved is equipped with the *skills* to directly improve his/her own *abilities* and *self-esteem*, and indirectly to improve his/her own “*quality of life*” (Cloete et al, 1996: 2). It is thus a process by which an individual develops *self-respect* and becomes more *self-confident* and *self-reliant* (Burkey 1993: 35). Person development is about the building of individual capacity, in other words, the building or developing of individual community member’s *values, attitudes, knowledge and skills*, and ultimately the *empowerment* of people (Rubin & Rubin 1986).

Agency is also a concept that is linked with the concept of *choice* (Bhattacharyya 2004: 13). According to Mahbub ul Haq (1995: 14), the development of human beings is ultimately about the enlargement of all human choices, i.e. *economic, social, cultural and political* choices. Thus, the more choices people can make (on all four levels), the more advanced their level of development would be. According to Haq, the objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy *long, healthy and creative lives*. Manfred Max-Neef agrees to this notion of Haq by stating that development and *human needs* are components of a single equation (Max-Neef 1991: 14). The one variable cannot be used without the other variable. They are two sides of the same coin. People can only enjoy long, healthy and creative lives, if those needs are satisfied that is necessary to make a long, healthy and creative life possible. The more needs of people are satisfied, the more opportunities they will

have to make more choices, thus the more advanced their level of development would be.

Finally, agency is part of the *human development paradigm*. According to this paradigm, there is more to human development (or person development) than merely economic development, or material prosperity. Real human development concerns more *intangible* factors that relate to both the *quality* of change in people's lives, as well as to the *quantity* of change (Slim 1996: 64). Human development is not just about having more, but also about *being more* (Pratt and Boyden, 1985). This implies that human development is more than just having more money. Clark (1991: 36) views human and community development not as a commodity to be weighed or measured in monetary terms only, but rather as "a process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destinies and realize their full potential. It requires building up in people the *confidence, skills, assets* and *freedoms* necessary to achieve this goal." Materialistic prosperity should not be the centre of the development process. People have to be the central point of the development process and the improvement of their *quality of life* has to be the main objective (Cloete et al, 1996: 5).



3.2.2 Solidarity / Social Capital

Of the two interrelated parts of the community development process, *solidarity* is the part that focuses more on the *group* or *collective*. Where agency or capacity building has to do with the building of values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and personal qualities, e.g. self-esteem and self-reliance, of individual community members, *solidarity* has to do with the building of *cohesion, trustful relationships* and *connectivity* among various community members. In other words, where agency focuses more on the development of individual community members, or person development, *solidarity* focuses more on the development or increasing of constructive *social interactions* and *relationships* among community members, or *community development*.

In the literature solidarity relates to the building of *social capital* (Bhattacharyya 2004: 12). Initially, Sociologists developed the concept of social capital as an individual asset. It has only been in recent times that efforts have been made to explore its utility in relation to communities and even nations (Munslow 2001: 504). As a result, Portes (1998: 6) speaks of social capital as “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures”. In line with this, Putnam (1993: 36) defines social capital as “features of social organisation, such as *networks*, *norms* and *trust*, that facilitate co-ordination or co-operation for mutual benefit”. Furthermore, Feldman and Asaf (1999: 1) speak of social capital as the “glue that holds societies [or communities] together and without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being”.

Social capital exists in three principal forms. Firstly, *information sharing* uses social relations to communicate or pass on valuable information. In other words, social capital relates to social communication. Social communication is all about developing a social support system whereby individuals can help one another to cope with problems in their daily life. A social support system is established within a community through social networking, i.e. when people influence each other whilst participating in social events (Bopape 1993).



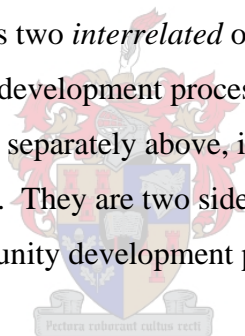
Secondly, *trust* created through social relations establishes widespread reciprocity as a norm or standard within a community. Here social capital relates to the principle of ‘I’ll do this for you now because you (or someone else) will assist me later’. Most importantly, this process does not compel specific reciprocation. To be more precise, it is a process of shared expectation whereby if community members need help, they will receive it.

Thirdly, *norms* and *values* that uphold social order are passed on in families, schools, churches and wider community settings, e.g. delaying childbearing until marriage or investing in education. This means that social capital relates to morals and ethics, i.e. certain standards within a community. Positive standards are strengthened within a community by means of social support, awards and rewards. On the other hand, failure to act in accordance with positive standards is objected to by means of punishment or loss of status (Committee for Economic Development 1995).

Accordingly, it becomes evident that social capital has a huge role to play in the community development process. On a community level, social capital is necessary to hold community members together so that they can collectively find solutions for their problems whereby all can benefit. If all participants in the community development process are not benefited, true community development didn't take place. As a result, social capital or solidarity has a huge role to play in making community development efforts *sustainable*⁴¹, i.e. to ensure the continuation of community projects in the long run (Munslow 2001: 505).

3.2.3 Social Capacity

As mentioned before, it is very important to keep in mind that agency or capacity building and solidarity building is two *interrelated* or *interconnected* parts or processes during the community development process. In other words, although I have discussed the two processes separately above, in reality they form part of one community development process. They are two sides of the same coin. The one needs the other during the community development process to make development efforts *sustainable*.



By and large, a community development process that builds capacity and solidarity at the same time will eventually result in a situation where community members are both empowered and have a sufficient level of trust and connectivity among one another. In other words, community members will possess a combination of individual capacity and the capacity to work together. They will thus possess *social capacity*.

⁴¹ In development literature the most often quoted definition for 'sustainable development' is: "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 43). Built into this definition of 'sustainability' is the critical importance of environmental consciousness in the development process. I am not disregarding this definition at all. In fact, I totally agree with it. For the purposes of my study however, the word 'sustainable' is used in conjunction with the lifeline of a community project. More specifically, it refers to lasting community projects, or community projects that have the ability to continue in the long run, as opposed to those who are short-lived and die an early death.

According to Mattessich et al (2004: 61), social capacity is “the extent to which members of a community can work together effectively”. Realistically, members of a community can only work together effectively or efficiently, i.e. knowledgeably or competently, once they have acquired the necessary norms, values, attitudes, skills and knowledge, i.e. capacities. Furthermore, members of a community can only work together or collectively if a sufficient level of trust and connectivity exist among them. Weak solidarity and meagre social capital diminish a community’s potential for collective action (Bhattacharyya 2004: 17). Thus, a community development process that seeks to build or increase social capacity, i.e. a combination of capacity and solidarity, within a community will more likely than not yield better results regarding the *sustainability* of community projects.

3.3 THE PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community projects will only carry on in the long run if and when community development practice adheres to specific requirements. Since the goal of community development is agency and solidarity, the practice of community development must be guided by this goal. In other words, the methods or techniques for the practice of community development should be appropriate and consistent with the goal of agency and solidarity.

Conventionally, community development practice objectified people during the process. This was the case since community development practitioners had the attitude of ‘we know what is best for the people regardless of what the people think’. This approach to community development is typical of development imposed from above, or top-down development. Conversely, development practices of today show a greater recognition of the need for people’s participation in community development than ever before (Bhattacharyya 2004: 21). In other words, there is a greater understanding of the need for more bottom-up development, where the beneficiaries of any proposed development participate, usually through their organizations, in determining the type of development most relevant to their specific needs. Furthermore, they may also participate in the implementation and subsequent running or monitoring of the development (Roodt 2001: 471). Contemporary community

development practice is thus attempting to break away from the more conventional by regarding people as agents (or subjects) from the beginning (Freire 1973).

While scanning through community development literature it becomes evident to the reader that certain community development principles exist which are without a doubt the constituting elements of sustainability. So, by adhering to these principles, any community project will continue to exist in future. These principles are “guiding lights on the difficult road to development” (Swanepoel 1997: 2). If the various role-players involved in the process of community development don’t commit themselves completely to these principles, their efforts to benefit the poor will be insignificant. Without these principles or prerequisites sustainable community projects would not be possible.

According to Swanepoel (1997: 2 - 13), there are eight essential community development principles:

3.3.1 The principle of human orientation

The fundamental focal point of this principle is that development is all about *people* at the end of the day. If development takes place on various levels, but the person involved is not developed at the same time, then proper development doesn’t take place. Development must be *humanistic*. No physical development can be separated from the person and no person development can be separated from the physical. All development must have a single focus. That focus is the *human being* (Swanepoel 1997: 3).

Furthermore, people don’t only have *physical/concrete needs*. They also have *abstract needs* that have to be fulfilled. In fact, people’s physical and abstract needs go hand in hand and present at the same time. This means that while people are striving towards fulfilling physical needs they gain in abstract human qualities that are the lasting and enduring results of community development (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 51).

In community development it is thus very important that the presence of abstract human needs is acknowledged. The whole philosophy behind community development is that people will gain in qualities like *self-reliance*, *self-sufficiency* and eventually *human dignity* through community development. Human dignity will only grow when people fulfil their *human potential* (Gran 1983: 327).

The majority of development practitioners are very aware of people's physical needs and as a result they tend to forget or overlook their abstract needs. This holds a lot of danger for the sustainability of community development efforts. Why? Because it is people's abstract human qualities like self-reliance, self-sufficiency and self-esteem that ultimately makes sustainable development possible.

3.3.2 The principle of participation

In the literature, *participation* is always connected to the actions of individuals or communities related to the development, improvement or change of an existing situation (Moser 1989: 81; Kellerman 1988: 30).

Participation is an essential part of *human growth*, which is the development of *self-confidence*, *pride*, *initiative*, *creativity*, *responsibility* and *cooperation*. Without such a development within the people themselves, all efforts to alleviate their poverty will be immensely more difficult, if not impossible. This process, whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems, is the essence of development (Burkey 1993: 57).

Human participation is the foundation upon which the whole process of community development should be build (Kotze & Swanepoel 1983: 2). According to the definition of the United Nations, participation requires:

the *voluntary* and *democratic* involvement of people in

(a) contributing to the development effort

- (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived from development and
- (c) the decision-making process regarding setting goals, forming policies and planning as well as implementing economic and social development programmes (United Nations as quoted from Groenewald 1989: 261).

Participation can be intended as either a *system maintaining* or a *system-transforming* process (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 23).

3.3.2.1 Participation as involvement

Regarding participation as a *system maintaining* process (also known as *participation as involvement*), the community is involved in the development process, but participates in projects that are predetermined by outside agencies. The result is that the people within the community don't take control over their own development, but only do what various institutes tell them to do. Development thus takes place from the top downwards. In *top-down* development, the emphasis is on institutional initiatives, meaning that role-players like the government and aid agencies identify the needs, plan the action, manage the projects and mobilise the communities. Thus, in the 'participation as involvement' set-up, no empowerment of people takes place.

3.3.2.2 Participation as empowerment

On the other hand, participation as a *system-transforming* process (also known as *participation as empowerment*) does make it possible for people within the community to be *empowered*. The people within the community are viewed as the main actors and the main decision-makers of their own development process. Accordingly, they are in control of the development process. Role-players like the state, private sector and NGO's are only responsible for providing material and other support to the developing community. The various institutes only play a supportive

role, with the community making the decisions. Development is thus more from the bottom upwards. In *bottom-up* development, the emphasis is on promoting local participation through the process of *facilitation* (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 40) Role-players like the state and NGO's don't force their ideas and plans onto the community, but rather act as facilitators that try to build capacity and equity within the community.

Equity can only be achieved within communities when everyone in the community is included to participate and not only the local leaders or the elites who normally "take charge" and initiate planning efforts to develop the community. When the marginalized (the poorest members of the community, usually women and youth) are also included in participation, social relationships can be built or developed between various segments of the community. As a result, trust can be repaired or improved between divided parts of the community, which would eventually result in strong horizontal ties within the community. Strong horizontal ties or relationships are needed within a community to not only direct vertical relationships (ties with external role-players), but also to prevent co-optation when necessary (Aigner et al 2002: 92 94).

The two above-mentioned processes, i.e. '*participation as involvement*' and '*participation as empowerment*', are opposite approaches to participation. Of the two, *participation as empowerment* is without a doubt the ideal approach to community development, since it attempts to build communities from the inside out. This type of participation is in line with *whole community organizing* where everyone within a community contributes their talents and gifts so that the whole community can prosper and not only a select few (Aigner et al 2002: 92).

A process whereby people learn to take charge of their lives and solve their own problems is one that is in line with sustainability. Community projects where people are only passive recipients of services and where outsiders want to solve their problems will never result in the sustainability of the projects. This is the case, because when service providers, whether governmental or private, leave the area, so does the specific community project. Participation means active involvement, and not only by community leaders, but also by the more marginalized. Participation that

seeks to minimize internal community divides (e.g. leadership vs marginalized) is participation that will eventually lead to sustainability.

3.3.3 The principle of empowerment

Because community development is a poverty-oriented approach, it is usually closely related to *empowerment* (Monaheng 2000: 133). It is a widely acknowledged fact that the poor, in general, are *powerless*. For the reason that they are powerless, it is essential that they be *empowered* to make community development sustainable. The crucial question to ask now is thus: How can powerless people be empowered? The answer to this question lies in participation to the development process.

By giving people the opportunity to not only be involved in their own development, but also *to make their own decisions*, will enable them to be *empowered*.

Empowerment must be about bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it. This puts a strong emphasis on *access to political structures* and *formal decision-making* and, in the economic sphere, on access to markets and incomes that enable people to participate in *economic decision-making*.



Empowerment also includes access to *intangible decision-making* processes. This means that it is concerned with the processes by which people become aware of their own interests and how these relate to those of others, in order to participate from a position of greater strength in decision-making and actually to influence such decisions (Rowlands 1996: 87).

The principle of empowerment stipulates that people participate in development because it is their *democratic right* to do so (Wignaraja et al, 1991: 202). According to Gran (1983: 23), participation is *decision-making*. Participation also means *to have power* (Tacconi & Tisdell 1993: 413). According to this principle, participation is the natural result of empowerment. It is not a means to an end. It is the objective of development.

Furthermore, it is also important to point out that empowerment requires much more than only having the power to make decisions. It also requires the knowledge and understanding to make the correct decisions. It is thus important for people to not only make decisions, but to make *informed decisions* (Swanepoel 1997: 7). This implies that the *learning process* is essential in the development process.

A process of empowerment that seeks to engage poor and marginalized people cannot be effective if the methodology is top-down and directive, or encourages dependency. Empowerment is a process that cannot be imposed by outsiders, although appropriate external support and intervention can speed up and encourage it. It calls for a *facilitative approach* and an attitude of complete respect for and confidence in the people being worked with (Rowlands 1996: 90). At the end of the day, empowerment is all about the ability of people to develop themselves by working together. Community projects where community members are active contributors (and not passive recipients) will result in sustainable projects.

3.3.4 The principle of ownership

According to Schutte (2000: 4) the element of *ownership* features in all sustainable community development projects. Ownership usually goes hand in hand with *caring for* and *keeping safe* that which is owned, and this goes for *personal property* as well as for *communal property*. The greater the proportion of the community claiming for itself ownership of a given project, the smaller the likelihood would be of the project dying an early death.

As a result, ownership of community projects should lie in the hands of the community. Outsiders should only act as facilitators and shouldn't claim to have authority over a project, even if they did in fact initiate the project. Unfortunately, in community development practice this is something that is not easily achieved. In most cases outsiders do claim their authority over projects, since they have vested economic interests that may be threatened by the mass ownership of development (Wisner 1988: 294). In essence, where authority lies of a given project, will also be where the ownership lies.

3.3.5 The principle of release

One of the main goals of development is to eradicate poverty. According to Chambers (1983) the poor is trapped in a cycle of poverty, which he calls the *deprivation trap*. Development thus wants to *free people* from the deprivation trap.

Chambers writes about *conforming* and *transforming* development efforts. *Conforming* development efforts only bring *relief* or *improvement* to the trapped people, without freeing them from the trap (Chambers 1983). These development efforts only tend to maintain the *status quo* by bringing *short-term* or *repetitive relief* to a situation without addressing its roots. The result of this approach is the creation of *dependency*.

Instead, what are needed are development efforts that make *total transformation* possible. *Transforming* development efforts do not aim to bring relief to people in the deprivation trap, but to free them from the trap so that they can gradually improve the situation themselves as *free* and *self-reliant* individuals (Obaidullah Khan 1980: 57). *Self-help* is the opposite of helpless dependency. Accordingly, the development practitioner or any external role-player should view healthy human beings, even if poor, as willing and able to take care of themselves, to reciprocate or give in return, to be productive, more inclined to give than receive, are active rather than passive, and creative rather than consuming. A transforming development approach thus understands that a lack of capacity among a group of people is chronic and as a rule is caused by larger outside forces, such as public policy, the structure of the economy etc. (Bhattacharyya 2004: 22). From this vantage point, the *potential* of poor people will be kept in mind during community projects. If people were indeed given the opportunity to help themselves and escape from dependency, more community projects would be sustainable.

3.3.6 The principle of learning

I am one of those people that believe in the saying '*learn by doing*'. It is thus essential for people to be *actively* involved in their own development. According to Burkey (1993: 57) participation is essentially a 'learning by doing' exercise. This

means that where there is genuine participation, mistakes will be made. There will be failures and there will be progress, i.e. “a few steps forward, a step or two back”.

By being actively involved in both *decision-making* as well as *activities* people can and will learn a lot through the development process. But it is not only the people being developed that must be willing to learn. According to the *learning-process approach*, development organisations and its management should also adopt a learning attitude to establish a *culture of learning* in respect of all aspects of a particular development project (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 43). This implies that the *responsibility for learning* should be *distributed* between the people being developed and the development organisation and its workers. *All involved in development must learn*. No one person teaches another. All are students of the situation and all learn from the realities of the situation (Swanepoel 1997: 9).

The poor, if not oppressed by the more powerful, are oppressed by their *limited knowledge*. Their lack of knowledge and information prevents them from competing successfully for their fair share of resources and keeps them from effectively utilising the few resources they do control. If the poor are to manage and control their own development, they must gain in *self-confidence*, *learn to be assertive* and *have faith in their own abilities* (Burkey 1993: 51 - 52).

It is essential for the poor to acquire *technical skills* and *knowledge* as well as *human skills* and *knowledge*. *Technical skills* and *knowledge* include things like the selection of seeds and fertilizer and how to repair a machine, to name a few. Equally important are *human skills* – skills in communication, organisation and management.

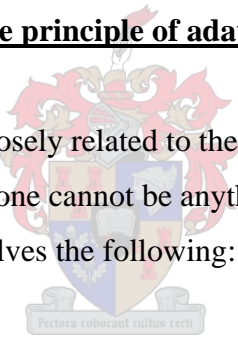
Regarding human skills (or social skills), Burkey (1993: 52) states the following:

“People must learn how to express themselves in public, analyse and verify information, make decisions and resolve conflicts. They must learn how to constructively criticize their companions, acquire and use power, maintain channels of communication, keep accounts and use money wisely, and avoid such common problems as favouritism, nepotism, gossip, manipulation and autocratic leadership. Constructive participation also requires a certain minimum of mutual trust, honesty and concern for others.”

Within communities there are also differences between various groups of people. Communities are not homogeneous entities and consequently consist of groups of people that do have knowledge and skills as well as those who don't have it. This usually results in a situation where the more skilful and knowledgeable are more powerful and oppress the less skilful and knowledgeable by excluding them from participation in the community development process. In actual fact, those that do need to learn by doing don't get the opportunity to learn. This kind of situation within a community should be prevented at all costs. Thus, for the learning process to be successful in community projects all should participate for all to learn. When all participate and learn in community projects both solidarity and agency will be built and sustainability would be the end result.

3.3.7 The principle of adaptability

The principle of *adaptability* is closely related to the principle of *learning*. If the principle of learning is followed, one cannot be anything but adaptable or flexible. The principle of adaptability involves the following:

- 
- (a) It demands a *willingness to learn* as you go forward.
 - (b) It asks that *errors should be embraced*.
 - (c) It stands for *experimentation* and thus *short-term, trial-and-error* planning and implementation (Swanepoel 1997: 11).

All role-players involved in community development should be willing to learn. Kotze & Kellerman (1997: 46) write about *adaptive administration*, which is usually used in relation to government agencies, NGO's and project management. An adaptive administration treats people as *partners* in the development process. This implies that decisions about projects are taken in consultation with the community. Neither a bureaucratic nor a businesslike style of management is appropriate. Management should be *fluid, changeable* and *adaptable*.

Therefore, the more adaptable people are in the development process, the easier it would be for the learning process to take place and community projects to be sustainable.

3.3.8 The principle of simplicity

The principle of *simplicity* is the total opposite of the belief that ‘bigger is better’. Big, complex and sophisticated community projects usually just restrict the potential for learning and participation. Chambers (1978: 211) calls big projects ‘the big project trap’ where no release from the deprivation trap takes place. Large projects tend to create new dependencies and only cause more social and economic inequalities (Gran 1983: 288). Adaptability is also more difficult to achieve with complex and sophisticated projects.

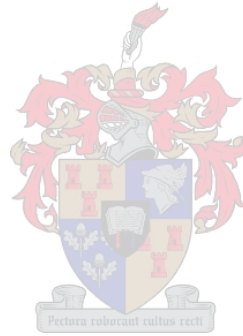
According to Chambers (1993: 27) *true sophistication lies in simplicity*. He feels that straightforward and simple projects are the most favourable and also usually the most successful and sustainable. It is thus better to start off development efforts with small projects and to gradually expand these projects as time goes on. By doing this, all the other principles of community development will not be ruined.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In essence, the goal of community development is agency and solidarity. In the pursuit of this goal, community development practice should adhere to certain principles. Community development thinking of today has moved away from a community development approach that only objectifies people during the process. Instead, current thinking regards people as agents (or subjects) from the beginning of the community development process. As a result, this kind of development thinking sets community development apart from other development practices. In this sense, community development proposes an alternative politics, a truly democratic politics,

i.e. one that is non-impositional, non-manipulative and respectful of the will of the people (Bhattacharyya 2004: 21).

This kind of thinking or philosophy has specific methods in mind for the practice of community development. These methods form the nuts and bolts for successful and sustainable community development efforts. In a nutshell, community development practice should most importantly create a situation where everyone is included. All should contribute their talents and gifts and be actively involved. This would minimize divides within communities and as a result build or increase social capital within communities. Furthermore, when all participate all will learn, or increase in capacity. This will enable them to release themselves from the poverty trap, especially by means of self-help. If all participate, all can also feel as if they own. In bottom-up development the central principle is without a doubt all-inclusive participation. Thus, to participate is to sustain.



CHAPTER 4

NEW BEGINNINGS – A CASE STUDY

The case study tells the story of a community of farm workers. This community of farm workers consists of a total of 50 to 60 people, which include men and women as well as their children. This farm worker community is located in the Western Cape province of South Africa, specifically in the wine-producing region known as Paarl.

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The New Beginnings idea was born as far back as 1988 when practising Senior advocate Alan Nelson bought a farm (currently known as the wine estate Nelson's Creek). When he bought the farm, Alan promised his workers that if they should assist him to make his wine farm a show farm and a champion estate, he would reward them abundantly. At that point in time, i.e. with the buying of the farm, the farm was a general farm where various activities took place, meaning that it wasn't a specialised wine estate. Alan bought the farm at an auction and at that stage the farm was declared a neglected and bankrupt piece of land. Today the farm is a champion estate, largely due to the contribution of the farm workers that played their part since 1988. As a man true to his word, Alan Nelson kept his promise. On 21 May 1997 he made the initial announcement that he was planning to donate a piece of land, which was part of Nelson's Creek, to his farm workers. This initial announcement was made in front of the senior workers of Nelson's Creek (i.e. the foremen on the farm) as well as Mr Victor Titus (a retired school principal).

So, the following questions naturally arise: Who exactly is Victor Titus and why was it necessary for him to be present at the initial announcement? In other words, where does he fit? Victor Titus was a primary school principal in Paarl until 1996. He met Alan Nelson in 1993. Thus, they met while Victor was still actively involved in the

education system. After they met, an initiative started with Alan to create an educational funding aid. Both Alan and Victor were trustees of this funding aid and because of this they regularly attended meetings together. As a result, they got to know one another better and they became friends. On 20 May 1997, i.e. a day before the initial announcement was made, Alan Nelson contacted Victor Titus and asked him whether he would be interested to participate in a project he had in mind. Victor agreed and at seven o' clock the next morning he arrived at Nelson's Creek, just in time to hear the initial announcement made by Alan Nelson.

4.2 FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT AND RESULTING MEETINGS

The announcement included the following:

- 1) A portion of land (part of Nelson's Creek) was going to be donated to the farm workers who were part of the Nelson's Creek labour force, at that specific point in time. The surface area of the portion of land was 9,5 ha. If the farm workers decided that they didn't want the portion of land, Alan was prepared to buy it back from them. The only condition was that the portion of land had to be used for agricultural purposes, preferably viticulture⁴², because of the fact that this was what the farm workers knew best and could do best. The land should not be used for housing.
- 2) If the farm workers decided that they would use the portion of land for viticultural purposes, Alan would make available his farming equipment and implements to the farm workers, free of charge, for a period of three years. Furthermore, if they do produce grapes, he would be prepared to buy it from them at the relevant market price value.

⁴² The growing of grapes to be used for winemaking.

- 3) If they would be thinking about making wine in the future, his hi-tech cellar would also be made available to them for making their own wine.
- 4) They would have to work their land in their own time.

After the above-mentioned announcements were proposed to the foremen on the farm, an agreement was reached between all the parties present that Victor Titus would act as facilitator of the proposed project, meaning that he would set off the development of the project, as well as render assistance during the course of the project.

Accordingly, the next step was to have a meeting with the rest of the farm workers working on Nelson's Creek. An agreement was reached that the meeting would take place at a neutral place (especially on request from the workers). Victor organised that the first official meeting would take place at a Primary School in Paarl. All the farm workers working on Nelson's Creek, both men and women, travelled by lorry to Paarl.

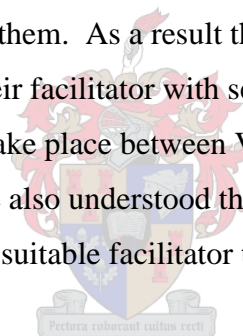
The same announcements that were made at the more informal initial meeting with the foremen were also made at the first official meeting. The only difference was that all the farm workers from Nelson's Creek, both men and women, were present at this meeting and not only the foremen. One of the immediate concerns the farm workers raised at this meeting, was that the announcements made were only an oral agreement and that they preferred something in writing. Some of the workers had previous experiences of farmers making promises, but never living up to it. The workers agreed that a formal agreement would make them interested in Alan Nelson's proposition.

Once Alan put the announcements in written form in front of the farm workers, they felt more confident about the proposed project. It was agreed by both parties that they would comply with the preconditions as set out during the first official meeting. Accordingly, the beginning of the project was officially on document. More meetings were held at the Primary School in Paarl, but eventually the venue for the meetings

were shifted to the restaurant located on Nelson's Creek. The reason why the farm workers made this decision was mostly for convenience sake. Everyone attending the meetings, except Victor, was a resident on the farm. It was thus a better idea to have the meetings on the farm, which implied that the farm workers didn't have to travel by lorry anymore.

4.3 THE FACILITATOR

All the farm workers accepted Victor as the facilitator and thus the mediator/ go-between for this specific project. What made him especially popular amongst the farm workers was the fact that he shared the same cultural background with them. He spoke the same language as they did, he was from the same racial origin and above all he was someone that had a high level of education (higher level than any of the farm workers), which could represent them. As a result they trusted him. Their trust made it possible for Victor to act as their facilitator with self-confidence. Good and effective communication could take place between Victor and the farm workers. He could associate with them and he also understood their particular background. Alan couldn't have introduced a more suitable facilitator to his farm workers.



4.4 THE PROJECT BEGINS

For the very reason that a project of this kind was totally new to all involved (even for Alan and Victor), it was decided to contact people that were already involved in the ownership reform of land and community development projects. Contact was established with various people working at the University of Stellenbosch, Elsenburg Agricultural College, the KWV⁴³ as well as the National Government's Department of Land Affairs.

The National Department of Land Affairs officially acknowledged the farm workers on Nelson's Creek by forming a legal entity entitled the '*Klein Begin (Small*

⁴³ Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouers Vereniging / Co-operative Winegrowers Association

Beginnings) Farming Association Communal Property Association'. The formation of such a legal entity was made possible through land reform legislation, i.e. the *Communal Property Associations (CPA) Act No. 28 of 1996*⁴⁴, passed in 1996 (Cousins & Hornby 2003: 128). This legal entity, i.e. Klein Begin, created a 'person' who could legally own land (Cousins & Hornby 2003: 128). By means of the legal entity, it was possible for the farm workers to qualify for financial grants and other assistance from the government.

The Department of Land Affairs also recommended that the farm worker community on Nelson's Creek (or rather the Klein Begin Farming Association) should establish a committee in order to get things started regarding a business plan within the community. The community reacted positively to this recommendation and with the assistance of the facilitator Victor Titus, they elected a committee consisting of seven members. Accordingly, the following seven portfolios were created, namely: *Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Vineyard Manager, Women's Affairs and Children's Affairs*.

An agreement was also reached that a meeting to be attended by the whole community would be held on a weekly basis. During these weekly communal meetings, decisions would be made regarding important things. It would be the responsibility of the committee to inform the rest of the community on the most pressing issues on the agenda. At these weekly meetings, people within the community would get the opportunity to vote about what has to be done regarding the pressing issues on the agenda. As is the case in a democratic system, the majority of the votes would win.

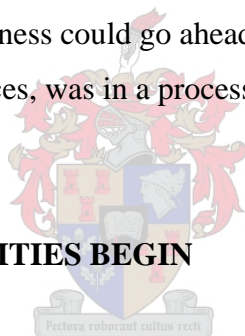
Now that the community (in the form of the Klein Begin Farming Association) legally qualified for subsidies from the government, an agreement was reached that the Klein Begin legal entity would consist of a total of 16 shareholders. Each of the 16

⁴⁴ The primary purpose of creating a legal entity or person such as a communal property association is to provide poor rural people with a relatively simple alternative to both individual freehold as well as other legal options for group ownership. An assumption behind the CPA Act was that available legal forms like companies, voluntary associations, share-block schemes, sectional titles and trusts were generally not appropriate due to complex administrative requirements or, as in trusts, because they placed the property in the hands of some on behalf of others (Cousins & Hornby 2003: 128).

shareholders would own an exact equal share in the business. The rationale for having 16 shareholders was a very simple one. The community, or rather the Klein Begin Farming Association, consisted of 16 households. It was decided that the father of each household would be a shareholder in the business, since they would be the farmers of the Klein Begin business. As a result, technically the man/husband would be the shareholder in the business, with his woman/wife as a co-shareholder being able to lay claim to half of her husband's sixteenth share⁴⁵. What happened in each household was entrusted to the household.

The National Government's Department of Land Affairs promised to donate a subsidy of R15 000 per household (that is to say a sum total of 16 times R15 000 = R240 000) to the Klein Begin Farming Association in order for the project to get started. The only precondition was that the money had to be used for viticulture or any other agricultural activity. The community agreed to comply with this precondition and accordingly the Klein Begin business could go ahead full steam, since the first big step of the project, namely finances, was in a process to be completed.

4.5 AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES BEGIN



While the community was waiting to receive the promised government money, the committee put forward a suggestion to the whole community (under the guidance of Alan Nelson and Victor Titus) to commence with the agricultural activities for the time being. The community agreed to this notion and the project activities could begin. With the support of Elsenburg Agricultural College and the KWV soil samples were taken of the Klein Begin farm. The final results of the soil analysis showed that the whole area (i.e. the whole 9,5 ha) was suited for the cultivation of any red grape cultivars.⁴⁶ At that specific point in time, the whole 9,5 ha piece of land contained Palomino Fino grapes that were growing there since 1970. Initially the community wanted to uproot all of the Palomino Fino grapes, but after lengthy discussions it was

⁴⁵ In 15 of the 16 households the man/ husband was the shareholder. In one of the households a woman was the shareholder, since she was a widow.

⁴⁶ This meant that popular modern-day red grape cultivars like Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot, Shiraz and Pinotage were all highly suitable to be cultivated on the 9,5 ha piece of land.

decided that only two thirds of the 9,5 ha piece of land would be replanted. The remaining one third of the Palomino Fino vineyard would be harvested for the time being, until such time when the newly planted red grape vineyards would become productive, in other words, would produce quality grapes for the making of red wine⁴⁷.

4.6 THE IDEA OF A CASH CROP⁴⁸

After two thirds of the land was cleared, it would have taken a while before the new vines could be planted. At this stage the finances promised by the Department of Land Affairs was also not finalized. This implied that the community had to make new plans. The community saw this as an opportunity to plant cash crops, given that the land was ready for use anyhow and it would have taken a while before the new vines could be planted. From the outset, Alan Nelson was against this idea. His reasons were twofold: Firstly, he felt that the soil had to be thoroughly prepared for the new vines. This could only be done if the soil was left unused. Secondly, he felt that the farm workers knew nothing or very little about cash crops. He felt that their expertise would be better utilized in viticulture, as this was a form of agriculture they were far more familiar with. Most of them grew up practising viticulture. In the end, Alan Nelson made another portion of land available to the farm workers on which they could plant their cash crops.

The community decided to plant onions and potatoes, after Mohammad Karaan from the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Stellenbosch assisted them in the selection of their crops. Although Mohammad gave them a list of suitable crops to be planted in the specific type of soil, the community itself made the final decision. The farm workers of Nelson's Creek made an arrangement with Alan Nelson regarding the planting of the cash crops. An agreement was reached between the two parties that some of the farm workers would take off one working week from their duties on Nelson's Creek. This off time would be used to plant their onions on

⁴⁷ It is important to mention that it takes about three years for newly planted vines to produce quality grapes for the making of wine. As a result, the decision made by the community to only replant two thirds of the total piece of land, was a very good decision.

⁴⁸ The planting of a cash crop was a once-off event.

their own land. The labour hours lost at Nelson's Creek during the course of the week would be worked back as soon as possible.

During this event an agreement was reached that the farm workers were allowed to work their own land on some of their working days. This was only possible, however, with the permission of Alan Nelson and also when the farm worker accumulated extra working hours at Nelson's Creek. To illustrate this through an example: say, four farm workers worked a total of 64 hours each at Nelson's Creek during one working week, i.e. from a Monday to a Saturday. According to South African labour law, the maximum amount of hours to work on a farm during one working week totals 48 hours. The result is that these four farm workers would be entitled to get off two full working days ($64 - 48 = 16$ hours) at Nelson's Creek the following week. During these two days they will be able to work their own land. However, farm workers were only allowed to do this if they notified Alan in advance. Accordingly, this is how the system known as the 'accumulation of hours' got established at Nelson's Creek. This meant that the farm workers of Nelson's Creek could both work for Nelson's Creek at a weekly wage as well as work their own land and tend to their own farming. Therefore, the community had to decide who was going to work where and when. Thus, decision-making was left entirely in the hands of the community, with Victor and Alan willing to give their advice should it be necessary.

With the harvesting of the onions, very interesting things happened. Collaboration between the various community members wasn't as what was hoped for (according to the observations made by the facilitator Victor Titus). When the onions got sold, everyone within the community wanted a share of the profits, although everyone didn't participate in all of the activities. Victor viewed the onion episode as an eye-opener for the community. The community members learnt a very valuable lesson, which was that a person couldn't be rewarded if no effort was made on his/her behalf. The onion episode was a brilliant example of 'learning by doing'. For most of the community members, the onion episode was a learning process where they learnt a lot, even though it was by making mistakes. The idea of the community to plant cash crops might just have been more valuable to them as what they had anticipated for!

4.7 FIRST GRAPE HARVEST

The Klein Begin farm harvested its first grapes (Palomino Fino) in February 1998. Above all expectations, this first harvest of grapes grabbed the attention of the whole world. The community was swarmed with requests for television, newspaper and radio interviews.

It was however never the intention to make wine during the first year, but with all of the exposure the Klein Begin farm experienced, the business found itself in a situation where something simply had to be done. The problem was that they only had Palomino Fino grapes to make wine with. Therefore, a decision was made to buy in grapes from neighbouring wine farms. At that stage it could be done, because a large sum of the money promised by the Department of Land Affairs was already made available to the Klein Begin community. The community (with the assistance of various role players like Elsenburg and the KWV) decided to buy in the following grape cultivars: Cape Riesling, Chardonnay and Cinsaut. Their aim was to make three types of wine, i.e. a Dry White, a Dry Red and Chardonnay.

The experienced and champion winemaker of Nelson's Creek, Carl Alan, was chosen to assist with the making of the Klein Begin wine. Initially, he was chosen to only guide and assist the chosen winemaker of the Klein Begin farm, Matteus Thabo. At the end of the day, it was Carl (the Nelson's Creek winemaker) who made the wine, with Matteus who acted as his assistant. What is important to mention though, is that this whole winemaking process was a very big learning curve for Matteus. For him, it was the equivalent of attending winemaking courses. What made his winemaking training even more valuable was the fact that he learnt everything *hands-on*, which meant that he could associate the two key aspects of winemaking, i.e. the theoretical and the practical, with one another. As the only student of Carl Alan, Matteus could receive Carl's undivided attention.

Before the Klein Begin project started, Matteus Thabo was only a waged worker on Nelson's Creek. His job was to maintain the garden and the lawn on the farm. He was chosen by the community to become the first winemaker at Klein Begin. They chose him as winemaker, because they saw potential in him that they didn't see in any

other person in the community. When the first Klein Begin grapes (of which the majority was bought in from neighbouring wine farms) reached the Nelson's Creek cellar, working in a cellar was still very unfamiliar to Matteus, but under the leadership of Carl Allan the first vintage of wine was bottled under the Klein Begin label.

4.8 PROMOTION OF THE KLEIN BEGIN LABEL

The community decided to use one of the first photos ever taken of Klein Begin, on their label. The specific photo that stood out far above the rest was a photo that was taken by the award winning newspaper photographer Bennie Gool. Gool agreed to their request to use his photo on their label. He was even so kind to give the whole set of negatives to Klein Begin to be used free of charge. The negatives of the photo were taken to a well-known label designer. As was the case with Gool, the label designer also assisted them free of charge. The end result was that the highly professional design of the Klein Begin label didn't cost the community a cent.

The first promotion of the Klein Begin label took place at the Mondial Wine Show in Brussels, Belgium. At that stage the winemaking on the farm was still in progress. As a result Victor only had with him a bottle filled with water containing the Klein Begin label. The reason why Victor, as the representative of Klein Begin, attended this specific event had more to do with promoting the Klein Begin label than promoting the Klein Begin wine itself. A lot of interest was shown in the Klein Begin label at this wine show and accordingly an article on the Klein Begin project appeared in the local newspaper. Furthermore, valuable contact was made with one or two European wine agents.

4.9 THE LABEL ISSUE

Queries were made to the Klein Begin business regarding the name 'Klein Begin' that appeared on its label. The reason why these queries were made was because another winemaker already marketed and sold his wine under the 'Klein Begin' label. In order to avoid any conflict, the community decided to change the name of the business from 'Klein Begin' to '*New Beginnings*'.

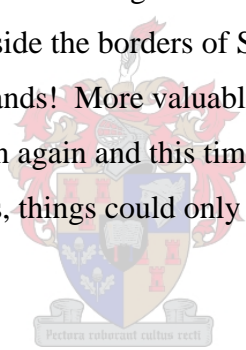
4.10 PROMOTION OF THE NEW BEGINNINGS LABEL

After the issue regarding the label was sorted out, it was decided to officially launch the New Beginnings label at the London Wine and Food Fair. The launch was done in the offices of the South African High Commissioner to Britain, Ms Cheryl Carolus. It was broadcasted on BBC World. The result was that New Beginnings was swamped with loads of interviews and visits to the farm.

Soon afterwards, the New Beginnings wines were also launched locally. The first New Beginnings wine promotion in South Africa took place at Pick 'n Pay, a national retail outlet. Due to limited stock, the wines were only sold at Pick 'n Pay in two of the nine South African provinces, namely the Western Cape as well as Kwazulu-Natal. From the onset of the Pick 'n Pay deal, an agreement was reached between the community and Alan Nelson that after the first wine sales to Pick 'n Pay, the costs regarding further wine sales to Pick 'n Pay would be covered by Alan. This meant that Alan had to cover the expenses regarding the bottling, labelling, packaging and transport of the New Beginnings wines in future deals with Pick 'n Pay, since the community didn't have the necessary finances available to cover such costs. As a result, the profit of the wine sales would be split 50/50 between Alan and the community. Furthermore, it was agreed that the community's half of the profit would be secured for social and other needs within the community, while Alan's half would be utilized for wages and salaries for the whole staff of New Beginnings. In other words, it was decided that Alan wouldn't benefit directly from the money he made, but rather that the money would be channelled back to the community in the form of wages and salaries.

A Dutch wine agent approached the New Beginnings business and placed an order for export. At that stage, i.e. with the placing of the Dutch export order, there was no wine left. All the wine was already sold out. The community realised that this was an opportunity not to miss out on. Something had to be done and quickly!

Carl Allan (the winemaker at Nelson's Creek) was approached and he agreed to assist New Beginnings wherever he could. With his assistance the necessary was obtained and done and before the end of 1998 the first New Beginnings wine was available in various stores in the Netherlands. Alan Nelson (the owner of Nelson's Creek) played a vital role in the Netherlands. His support and expertise rendered to New Beginnings was invaluable. Alan travelled with Matteus Thabo (the New Beginnings winemaker in training) throughout large parts of the Netherlands to promote the New Beginnings label for the first time. This was an amazing first-time experience for Matteus. It was the first time he ever set foot outside the borders of South Africa; the first time he walked the streets of the Netherlands! More valuable than this, however, was the fact that Matteus could learn hands-on again and this time it was under the wing of Alan Nelson. From this point onwards, things could only get better...



4.11 PLANTING OF THE FIRST VINEYARD

After an agreement was reached that the cleared piece of land was ready for cultivation, it was decided that the red grape cultivars Cabernet Sauvignon and Pinotage would be planted on the land. The community planted 3 ha of Pinotage and 3 ha of Cabernet Sauvignon.


The planting of the vine-cuttings took place under the ever-watchful eye of the elected New Beginnings Vineyard Manager, Sollie Skippers. Although Sollie never received any form of formal schooling in his whole life, and as a result was totally illiterate, he was very knowledgeable regarding vineyard practices. The reason for this was because of the fact that he was born on this farm (currently known as the wine estate Nelson's Creek) and as a result he grew up alongside his father who was working in the vineyard. It was alongside his father where he picked up the 'tricks of the trade'

regarding vineyard practices. He had a great understanding of both the weather and the soil on Nelson's Creek. Keeping in mind his extensive experience regarding wine grape farming, he was the ideal candidate for the position of Vineyard Manager at New Beginnings.

Everything was done exactly according to the standards of how a modern-day vineyard should look like. A lot of planning and discussion took place between the community members. Alan made his services and assistance available, if needed, but he never imposed his ideas onto the community. All in all, the planting of the first vines took place without any major headaches, mostly because the New Beginnings community was participating in an activity they knew best, namely to work in a vineyard.

4.12 FIRST INCOME

The community made the following decisions regarding the first profits made by the New Beginnings business:

- 
- (a) A certain amount of money would be made available to every shareholder of the New Beginnings business to be utilized for personal use.
 - (b) Another portion of land should be bought as soon as it was offered to them.⁴⁹

With the assistance of Victor a decision was made to open a savings account at the bank for each of the 16 shareholders. Any incoming money could then be transferred directly into each shareholder's personal bank account. What happened with the money from this point onwards, i.e. after the transfer of the money to the various personal bank accounts, was left in the hands of every household.

⁴⁹ At a later stage, i.e. the beginning of 1999, ESCOM (Electricity Supplying Commission in South Africa) offered another portion of land, 9 ha in total, to the New Beginnings community. The title deeds regarding this piece of land is currently [2004] in a process to be transferred into the New Beginnings name.

The various households spent their money differently. Some households bought household appliances like fridges, stoves, televisions etc. Other households used the money as deposits on second hand motorcars. Some of the money was also spent on school fees for their children. Most of the school going children were sent to better quality schools where they could receive a better education; something a lot of their illiterate parents never had the chance of doing. For the first time in their lives these households had the finances to buy and do some of the things they only dreamt of buying and doing, while only being wage labourers on the farm.

4.13 INTEREST AND OTHER SUPPORT

Interest in and assistance to the New Beginnings project arrived from various sources. Due to the major interest in the project from the media, especially in the form of television, radio, newspapers and magazines, the project received the necessary exposure to not only become known nationally, but also to become known internationally. Some of the most interested parties in the project will be discussed accordingly:

The Secretary for Commerce of the USA visited the New Beginnings farm in 1998. He promised the New Beginnings business that he would make use of his influence to direct interested parties in the USA to the project, for assistance in investment for equity, so that the project could achieve its goals as soon as possible.⁵⁰

A group consisting of various individuals, who had worked on a full-time basis for the biggest wine company in South Africa, decided to form their own company. This newly formed company consisted of individuals who were highly skilled in his /her field of specialisation, e.g. Marketing, Law, Development, Adult Education, Communication, Labour, Human Resources, Finance etc. These individuals offered their services to New Beginnings free of charge for a trial period. It was agreed that both parties would make a decision after the initial trial period, whether New

⁵⁰ The portion of land offered to the community by ESCOM was set aside by them for the purposes of their own future cellar, bottling plant, own housing and other community facilities. The space also

Beginnings was still positively influenced by this relationship. If this was not the case, the relationship could be terminated.

One of this company's first big achievements, regarding their relationship with New Beginnings, was to get three of the New Beginnings community members involved in an International Marketing Course which standard was recognised by the International Trade Centre. Unfortunately, the business relationship between New Beginnings and this company was terminated at the end of the day.

Mercy Ltd, a Japanese wine agency, agreed to do business with New Beginnings on a contractual basis. They placed their first wine order in October 1999 and two months later, in December 1999, the first New Beginnings wine was available in the stores in Tokio. Mercy Ltd. regularly visits the farm. During most of these visits the agency brings along Japanese clients who would like to meet and get to know the producers of the wine, i.e. the New Beginnings community, personally. A personal relationship between producer and consumer is regarded very highly by Japanese consumers.

These visits resulted in the offering of assistance by the Japanese consumer to the New Beginnings project. As an example of this, the Japanese donated two sewing machines to the women of the New Beginnings community so that they could start their own business enterprise. Initial thoughts were that the women could make gift bags for the bottles of wine. The whole idea behind this initiative was to make the women within the community financially independent.

On their first visit to the New Beginnings farm, a group of businesswomen from the USA found out about the Japanese initiative intended for the women. These businesswomen have committed themselves to support the New Beginnings women financially through either regular financial deposits or lump sum investments. They also offered assistance to find US markets for their products.

allowed for possible guesthouse facilities. With these future goals of the community in mind, the US Secretary for Commerce wanted to direct possible investors to the project.

Michael Havens, owner of Havens Wines in the Napa valley in California, USA, visited the New Beginnings farm during August 2000 for a whole week. Besides the fact that he was a wine farm owner and wine producer, more importantly, he was also a representative of an American investment company called RISA (Reinvest South Africa). The reason for his visit to the New Beginnings farm was to investigate the viability of a possible investment in the business. All in all he was impressed by what he saw on the farm and on his departure from the farm he told the New Beginnings community that he would encourage his seniors to proceed with the investment.

Another American, Chris Bowman, also visited the farm. He was a US importer of wines. He too was very impressed by the New Beginnings set-up. As a result, the first export of New Beginnings wine to the USA took place in November 2000, with the first US launch of the wine that took place in January 2001. Furthermore, Chris Bowman committed himself to the New Beginnings project by cutting his own profits in his business deal with them. The money made by the community from these kickbacks, could be utilised for projects of a worthy cause.



4.14 ROLL-ON LAWN BUSINESS

Towards the end of 1999, Alan Nelson considered closing down his roll-on lawn business. Victor Titus (the facilitator) made a suggestion to Alan to rather offer the roll-on lawn business to the New Beginnings community. After discussions between Alan and Victor, Alan decided to offer the roll-on lawn business to them. Without hesitation, the New Beginnings community reacted positively to this offer.

While the roll-on lawn business was still owned by Alan, Danny Hurling did the day-to-day management of the business. Danny was an expert in the instant grass business, since he worked for a large roll-on lawn business in Somerset West for a large part of his life. After his retirement, he ended up managing Alan Nelson's roll-on lawn business.

When the New Beginnings community decided to accept the roll-on lawn business offered to them by Alan, they decided to keep Danny Hurling as the manager of the

business. This implied that nothing changed regarding Danny's position within the business. He was still the day-to-day manager of the grass business. The only thing that did change was his employer, i.e. his new employer was the Klein Begin Farming Association. The community decided to stick with Danny as the manager of the grass business, because of his experience and knowledge within the grass industry. The only thing that was important to them, regarding the grass business, was that the business should be run properly and as efficiently as possible. Their main objective was thus the success of the grass business; something that was only feasible if the business had a knowledgeable leader, i.e. someone like Danny Hurling.

At the beginning of 2000, the New Beginnings community (under the guidance of Danny Hurling) started to run the roll-on lawn business. This grass business had very positive results on New Beginnings. Before they owned the grass business, the farm workers of Nelson's Creek (i.e. the New Beginnings men and women) had to work their own vineyards. Since becoming the owners of this grass business, they were in a position for the first time to employ workers to work on their farm, New Beginnings. As a result the community made the decision to employ six people on a consistent basis, whose labour could be rotated between their vineyards and their grass business.

It was now possible to employ people from outside the community, because of the fact that the grass business was profitable on a monthly basis, i.e. from one month to the next. In comparison to the grass business, the wine business was only profitable /financially rewarding, if so, twice a year, i.e. with wine sales. Because the New Beginnings community/ business had some form of cash flow for the first time, it was possible for them to afford weekly wages, and thus external wage labourers, for the first time. This meant that the New Beginnings project grew to such an extent that it even started to make a difference in the lives of poor and underprivileged people from outside the community.

4.15 PROCESS OF FINDING THE RIGHT LEADERSHIP

From the beginning of the project, those individuals within the community that were better educated, skilled and experienced were usually chosen by the community to be committee members.

Towards the end of 2001 the general feeling among the various community members was that the adequate individuals had been representing the community on the committee up to that point in time. The only objection the community members had regarding the committee was that some of the committee members were not placed in the correct portfolio. The community felt that a few of the committee members should shift from one portfolio to another.

Accordingly, at the 2001 Annual General Meeting⁵¹ only one of the previous elected committee members were not re-elected. What was significant during this meeting was the change in portfolios. At this Annual General Meeting it became apparent how carefully the community observed the dynamics within the New Beginnings business over the last couple of years. The newly appointed leadership was not only a blend of the better-educated, skilled and experienced group of people within the community, but was also a group of leaders placed in the most suitable positions.

A few months after the 2001 Annual General Meeting, the community didn't feel happy with the newly elected Chairman of the committee. Accordingly, out of their own free will, they decided to re-elect the previous Chairman of the committee as the Chairman of the committee. As a result, he took up this challenge with much more vigour and enthusiasm. More regular meetings were held once again and a lot of constructive dialogue was taking place. The running of the business was also approached in a more mature manner and various options were considered first, before a decision was made to move in one or other direction.

After a few months the re-elected Chairman of the committee decided to resign from his duties as Chairman. It became apparent that it was very difficult for a New

⁵¹ See Appendix A: The Klein Begin Farming Association Constitution, section 15, for a detailed discussion of the Annual General Meetings.

Beginnings community member to be both a full-time employee of Nelson's Creek as well as a chairman of the committee at the same time. At the beginning of the project it might have been possible, but now that the Klein Begin Farming Association was a fully-fledged business, it was too a demanding task. Furthermore, internal problems and disagreements started to happen within the committee as well as between the committee and the community. This had a negative impact on the running of the business.

As a result, the community decided to elect a neutral person to become the Chairman of the committee. They decided that the ideal person for the position would be Danny Hurling, since he was a neutral party (he wasn't a shareholder) and also because he could be trusted with the business⁵².

4.16 NEW APPROACH TO MANAGING THE NEW BEGINNINGS BUSINESS

In the middle of 2002 the community decided that the New Beginnings vineyards had to be managed differently. The reasons for this decision were twofold: Firstly and most importantly, the community were not satisfied with the quality of work done by their own employees working in their vineyards. Secondly, the business experienced financial difficulties due to a variety of reasons.

The biggest reason why the community wasn't satisfied with the quality of their own employees' work was because of a lack of proper supervision of their own employees. This was understandable though, taking in consideration that all of the shareholders of the New Beginnings business were full-time employees at Nelson's Creek. They simply didn't have the time to supervise their own employees.

The lack of supervision of their own employees was only one of the factors that impacted negatively on the running of the business. Other factors, such as personal

⁵² Danny Hurling was the New Beginnings Administrator and Bookkeeper who managed the day-to-day activities of both the grass business and the vines. The community knew him and therefore they elected him as the new neutral Chairman of the committee.

disagreements between the community members as well as promises made by creditors who didn't keep their word also impacted negatively on the running of the business. Eventually a combination of various factors such as these contributed to the financial difficulties experienced by the business.

As a result the community decided that the New Beginnings business should be managed differently. Accordingly, various meetings were held to reconsider and evaluate the status of the New Beginnings farm. The community decided that it would be in the best interest of the business to approach Alan Nelson to assist them in the running of the business, especially regarding the cultivation of the grapes, the making of the wine, the bottling, labelling and packaging of the wine as well as the promotion and marketing of the wine.

With the consent of the community, the committee chose Alan to assist with the running/ management of the New Beginnings business. As a result the Vineyard Manager of Nelson's Creek was appointed to jointly manage the New Beginnings vineyard with the New Beginnings Vineyard Manager, Sollie Skippers. This implied that all work regarding the vineyard would be done together, i.e. both the Nelson's Creek and New Beginnings vineyards would be worked on during a working day. This would enable the shareholders of the New Beginnings business (or rather the farm workers of Nelson's Creek) to work on their own vineyard during the day. At this point of the project the system known as the 'accumulation of hours', wasn't necessary anymore, because the Nelson's Creek farm workers cultivated their vines along with the Nelson's Creek vines, e.g. during pruning time both the Nelson's Creek and New Beginnings Pinotage vines would be pruned together, followed by the simultaneous pruning of the Cabernet Sauvignon vines. As a result both the Nelson's Creek vines and the New Beginnings vines received the same quality attention. With this result the New Beginnings community were very satisfied indeed, because they felt more confident that their vines would produce grapes of a high standard /quality⁵³.

⁵³ Winemakers use a very famous saying regarding quality winemaking, which goes: "The making of quality wine starts with quality grapes from the vineyard." Healthy wine farming logic goes: quality

Furthermore, the new approach to managing the New Beginnings business also included the following agreement reached between the New Beginnings community and Alan Nelson: Because the New Beginnings business experienced some financial difficulties, Alan had to finance the cultivation of the vineyard, the making of the wine, the bottling, labelling and packaging of the wine as well as the promotion and marketing of the wine. As a result of Alan financing most activities of the New Beginnings business, he would be entitled to two thirds of the yield /profit of the vineyard, with the other one third of the yield /profit going to the New Beginnings business⁵⁴.

4.17 NELSON'S CREEK SHIRAZ WINS VERITAS DOUBLE GOLD

In 2004 the Nelson's Creek 2002 vintage Shiraz won a Double Gold medal at the South African Veritas Awards⁵⁵. This wasn't only a big day for Nelson's Creek. It was also a big day for the New Beginnings community.

True to his style of management, Alan made a promise to his farm workers at some stage that if a Nelson's Creek wine should ever win Veritas Double Gold, he would reward them accordingly. His promise was that he would make an additional piece of land (part of Nelson's Creek), sub-divided into 16 equal plots (one for each shareholder), available to the New Beginnings community.

As a man true to his word, Alan made this additional piece of land available to the community. He is currently involved in a process to sub-divide this piece of land into 16 equal plots (one for each shareholder).

grapes – quality wine – bigger profit margin. This was exactly the thinking of the New Beginnings community, thus their excitement of the new approach to managing and cultivating their vineyards.

⁵⁴ Most of the profits made by the New Beginnings business were worked back into the business by the shareholders. This is still done today to build a financially sound and healthy business for the future.

⁵⁵ The Veritas Awards is hosted by the South African National Wine Show Association, recognising top market-ready wines across a range of categories. Double gold, gold, silver and bronze medals are awarded. The judging panel consist of both local and overseas wine experts (Platter: 18).

The shareholders within the community have decided that when the appropriate time comes, i.e. when they have made the adequate amount of money from their business, they would commence with the building of their own homes on their allotted plots.⁵⁶

4.18 DIFFICULTIES WITH ROLL-ON LAWN BUSINESS

In the middle of 2004 the New Beginnings business started to experience a lot of difficulties with their roll-on lawn business. Unlike their wine business that was under the wing of the Nelson's Creek farm management and also financed by Alan, their grass business was still fully managed by them up until this point.

For the first time since they started running the grass business, the business started to show major cash flow problems. Accordingly their problems started to mount, e.g. various major accounts couldn't be paid, they couldn't afford the services of a lorry driver anymore, they couldn't fix some of their equipment etc. Eventually, a decision was made to let go of the grass business for the time being and to just focus their attention on their ever-growing wine business.

As a result one of the New Beginnings shareholders made a proposition to the rest of the community to run the grass business out of his own capacity for the time being. From that point onwards he would finance the grass business from his own pocket and would be entitled to the profits made by the business. He would solely run the grass business just until the rest of the community have come up with another alternative.

The rest of the community didn't have a problem with this at all and on the contrary felt that it was a good idea. This sole venture meant that for the time being the grass business wouldn't be allowed to come to an end. If this individual would indeed succeed to turn things around for the grass business, this wouldn't only benefit him personally, but might also have good prospects in the pipeline for the rest of the community in the near future.

⁵⁶ Currently the New Beginnings community is still living in farm houses owned by their employer, Alan Nelson. Their current housing conditions comply fully with the minimum standards set out by the Government, i.e. to have running water inside the house, electricity, adequate sanitation etc. Their dream however is to *own* their own property, and currently they are in a process of realising this dream.

After the rest of the community agreed to his proposition, this specific shareholder resigned from his duties on Nelson's Creek in order to run the grass business on a full-time basis. Currently he is doing an excellent job in turning things around for the grass business.

4.19 TELEVISION BROADCAST TO GERMANY

In 2004 a team of television journalists from Germany visited the New Beginnings farm. They did a live television broadcast from the New Beginnings farm to Germany via ARDTV, a national television station in Germany.

The result of this broadcast was that the first wine order from Germany was placed at New Beginnings. Their first wine export to Germany followed soon afterwards.



4.20 LAST OF PALOMINO FINO GRAPES REMOVED

In early 2004 the Department of Agriculture did a study on the rest of the land that was not cultivated, i.e. the one third of the land the community decided not to clear in 1999. The result was that the Department of Agriculture decided to provide financial assistance (a total of R176 000) to New Beginnings for the soil preparation and the setting up of an irrigation system on this piece of land.

In the middle of 2004 the community removed the final 3 ha of Palomino Fino grapes from their piece of land. They have received the total of R176 000 from the Department of Agriculture and are currently [October 2004] in the process to prepare the soil and to set up an irrigation system on this piece of land.

4.21 ADOPT-A-VINE PROJECT

Since the amount of money (R176 000) received from the Department of Agriculture was only enough to cover the expenses regarding the soil preparation and the setting up of an irrigation system on this piece of land, Alan and Victor came up with an idea to raise funds for the planting of the new vineyard on this piece of land.⁵⁷

As a result, at the end of July 2004 New Beginnings (with the assistance of Alan and Victor) made public a new initiative called ‘Adopt-a-vine’. The ‘Adopt-a-vine’ project was all about caring and sharing. This initiative gave the public a unique opportunity to get personally involved in New Beginnings by sharing in the pride and success of New Beginnings while at the same time experiencing the romance of winegrowing.

Essentially the ‘Adopt-a-vine’ project invited private individuals and corporate entities to *adopt* one of the vines to be planted in the New Beginnings vineyard. By purchasing an ‘Adopt-a-vine’ package, the purchaser would not only be entitled to *adopt* a separately numbered and identifiable vine, but would also be entitled to receive an excellent ‘first release’ bottle of New Beginnings wine from these vineyards. Furthermore, a photograph of the vine as well as a *certificate of adoption* would be included in the package, which would entitle the holder of the vine to enter his or her name in an *adoption register*. Although New Beginnings would remain the legal owner of the vine, an entry in the *adoption register* would entitle the *adopter* to visit the vine as well as to participate in each stage of the vine’s development.

⁵⁷ In line with their conservative approach to debt, New Beginnings were, and always have been, extremely reluctant to borrow money to fund any further development of their business, including the development of new vines. In the wise words of Danny Hurling, the current chairman of New Beginnings: “We have heard of too many other farming empowerment projects failing because the farmers borrow lots of money from the bank. We do not want to make the same mistake!” (An excerpt taken from a press release compiled by Victor Titus).

Most importantly, by supporting the ‘Adopt-a-vine’ project, purchasers would make it possible for New Beginnings to cultivate the remainder of their land. As a result New Beginnings would be given a better chance to reach some of their further goals, such as the erection of their own cellar, the construction of their own houses, the furthering of their /their children’s education etc⁵⁸.

4.22 SUMMARY: NEW BEGINNINGS ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE

To conclude the story of the New Beginnings Community Development Project, I want to highlight (in bullet point form) some of the main achievements of New Beginnings to date:

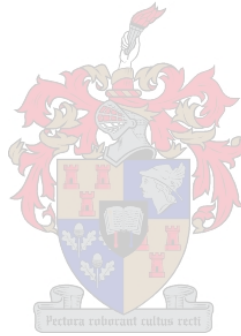
- Replanted 6 ha of donated 9 ha to Pinotage (3 ha) and Cabernet Sauvignon (3 ha) by using a government grant. At the moment these vines are producing grapes of an extremely high quality.
- In 1998 started exporting wine to the Netherlands and have been doing it every year since. In total 65 340 bottles of wine have been exported to the Netherlands, excluding this year (2004).
- In 1999 started exporting wine to Japan. In total 16 098 bottles of wine have been exported to Japan, excluding this year (2004).
- In 2000 received the Peace Gardens Award for Emerging Farmers. (Alan Nelson also received an award for his contribution towards Land Redistribution.)
- In 2001 started exporting wine to the USA. In total 1 800 bottles of wine have been exported to the USA, excluding this year (2004).

⁵⁸ At the time of writing this case study, i.e. during November 2004, a total of round about 300 vines had been adopted. The target set to be able to replant the whole 3 ha of land is a total of roughly 5000 vines.

- In 2003 cracked a listing for their 2002 Pinotage on South African Airways, for both local and international Business Class. The result was that most of the stock was sold out.
- In 2003 appointed a marketing person to target the markets of Europe and the USA. The marketing person is based in France.
- In 2004 the subject of a live television broadcast to Germany via ARDTV, which resulted in their wine exported to Germany.
- Smaller wine export orders to various other countries all over the world have been dealt with over the years.
- Four members of the community have already gone abroad representing themselves in Germany, UK, France and the Netherlands.
- Various educational achievements made (received diplomas/ certification for the following):
 - One member of the community attended Wine Academy Courses.
 - Four members of the community attended marketing courses at the University of Stellenbosch.
 - Three members of the community attended a small business development course at the University of Stellenbosch.
 - Five members of the community attended a business management course at the University of Stellenbosch.
 - Various members of the community attend regular practical training courses at Elsenburg Agricultural College, e.g.
 - Tractor driving courses
 - Foremen courses
 - Welding courses etc.

4.23 CONCLUSION

This chapter *described* the main aspects of the New Beginnings Community Development Project by simply telling the story of how this project unfolded. Now that the reader is familiar with the dynamics of this specific project, I am going to analyse and interpret the findings of this particular project in the next chapter (Chapter 5). Accordingly, my analysis and interpretation of the New Beginnings Community Development Project will be done within the framework of the historical conditions of wine farm workers in South Africa (Chapter 2) as well as the two interrelated parts or processes of the community development process that guide the principles or guidelines of community development practice (Chapter 3).



CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The history of the South African wine industry tells a story of trapped farm worker communities. Wine farm labour practices such as paternalism, tied housing, tied employment and the tot system have maintained farm worker communities in a trapped and dependent position. As a result, social pathologies such as alcohol abuse, a highly unstable family life, illegitimacy and illiteracy have become the norm, rather than the exception, within farm worker communities. In other words, it has become the norm that farm worker communities are made up of individuals who are predominantly dependent, i.e. who have low self-confidence and self-esteem, are not self-reliant and self-sufficient and in general lack a sense of worth. In addition to this, regarding social interactions and relations among family members and community members, domestic violence, child battering, drunken brawls, knife stabbings and various other forms of aggressive and violent behaviour are common within farm worker communities. So, in community development terminology, wine farm worker communities in South Africa tend to lack social capacity, i.e. they have a propensity to be short of both agency and solidarity.

Keeping the history of South African wine farm workers in mind, the results of the New Beginnings project is truly a remarkable feat. The New Beginnings community (or the farm worker community of Nelson's Creek Wine Estate) vastly differs from the typical farm worker community found in the South African wine industry. The New Beginnings community are made up of individuals who are predominantly self-confident and who have a sense of self-worth. Furthermore, alcohol abuse and resulting behaviour such as drunken brawls and knife stabbings are not common at all

within the New Beginnings community. If it does happen, it is the exception to the rule. Why then, is this community of wine farm workers so different from the norm?

According to community development literature, the community development process is essentially about building or increasing agency and solidarity. Where agency or capacity building has to do with the building of values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and personal qualities, e.g. self-esteem and self-reliance, of individual community members, solidarity has to do with the building of cohesion, trustful relationships and connectivity among various community members. In essence, community development practice should abide by guiding principles that seek to achieve both agency and solidarity building within communities, if the sustainability of community projects is to be achieved.

This is exactly what happened in the New Beginnings case. This community of wine farm workers were involved in a community development process where both agency and solidarity were built within the community. The building or increasing of both agency and solidarity within the New Beginnings community were made possible due to insightful and wise community development practice. Not only did community development practice in the New Beginnings case abide by the crucial guiding principles I recommended in Chapter 3, but it also included other specific features that are noteworthy. Accordingly, for the duration of this chapter, I am firstly going to discuss to what extent the various principles of community development, I recommended in Chapter 3, are both present and successfully operating within the New Beginnings project. Secondly, I am going to discuss the specific features or qualities of community development practice in the New Beginnings case that contributed to the success and sustainability of the project.

5.1 A DISCUSSION TO INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT THE VARIOUS PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ARE PRESENT AND SUCCESSFULLY OPERATING WITHIN THE NEW BEGINNINGS PROJECT

5.1.1 The principle of *human orientation*

The principle of human orientation stresses that development is all about *people* at the end of the day. This implies that the development of the *human being* should be the focus point during the community development process.

The New Beginnings project is an excellent example of a community development project where the principle of human orientation was followed. From the beginning of the project the farm worker community was regarded as the central point of the development process. This was evident by the fact that the people within the community were allowed to actively participate in their own development process. Ideas were never forced onto the community. They were encouraged to make their own decisions as far as possible. Whenever they got stuck, assistance was always readily available.

By being allowed to actively participate in their own development process, the people within the community were given the opportunity to fulfil their *human potential*. Accordingly, they were given the opportunity to not only satisfy their basic physical needs, but also to simultaneously satisfy their more abstract needs, e.g. their *human dignity*. Throughout the whole development process both the owner of Nelson's Creek (the initiator of the project) as well as the facilitator of the project acknowledged the people as worthy and capable human beings.

Furthermore, the active involvement in their development process alongside with the fact that they could make their own decisions, to a large extent, gave the farm worker community of New Beginnings the opportunity to be *self-reliant* and *self-sufficient*.

As a practical example of their self-reliance and self-sufficiency, the community largely managed their own two businesses, one a wine business and the other a grass business, for an extended period of time. They managed their wine business for a period of five years and their grass business for even longer, i.e. for a period of seven years.

Although they are not currently managing these two businesses as they did in the past, all the changes made to procedures occurred due to their own business decisions. Most of the business decisions made by the community during the course of the project were always made to the benefit of the New Beginnings business. Their insightful business decision-making is also proof of their self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

5.1.2 The principle of participation

The principle of participation stresses that people have to be actively involved in their own development process. By participating in their development process people will be given the opportunity to develop and grow as human beings. As a result participation leads to an improvement in people's *self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, cooperation* etc. that in turn learn people to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems. In a nutshell: participation is the essence of development.

The New Beginnings project is an example of a community development project where the principle of participation was followed. To be exact, the principle of participation as empowerment was followed. So why do I say this?

From the beginning of the project the community was given the space by the initiator and the facilitator to be involved in decision-making. This is the key issue in the principle of participation. Participation is of much lesser value when people are only allowed to participate in the practical execution of activities within a project. Participation should be much more than this. People within the community should also be allowed to fully participate in the decision-making process regarding their

development. This type of participation leads to participants being empowered by the process of development. This is exactly what happened in the New Beginnings project.

The community had the opportunity to elect their own committee members in a democratic fashion. Furthermore, the majority of the New Beginnings meetings were conducted in a democratic fashion where each member of the community had an equal opportunity to give his/her input.

Role-players like private people and organisations, the initiator, the facilitator and various others, gave the people within the New Beginnings community the opportunity to make their own decisions regarding most of the activities of the project. These various role-players only participated in the project in a supportive role most of the time, in that they offered advice and guidance to the community, but only when the community demanded it from them. Even at times when it looked that the community's decision-making was going into a wrong direction, matters were still entirely left in their hands most of the time. It was thought of as necessary and valuable opportunities for the community to 'learn by doing'. Obviously sound advice was given to the people within the community in times such as these, but the final decision was always left in the hands of the community.

In most cases when government departments are involved in development efforts a top-down development approach is followed. This simply means that the government officials usually do all the planning and decision-making with the community members only being involved in participation regarding the various project activities. The community thus doesn't get the opportunity to participate in the planning and decision-making process. This however wasn't the case in the New Beginnings project. The various government departments, i.e. the National Department of Land Affairs and the Provincial Department of Agriculture, were only involved in the project in a supportive role. They only supported the project through financial aid. This can be seen as both a blessing and a shortcoming in the project. A blessing because no overpowering top-down development took place due to the government's minimum involvement in the project. Also in various instances a shortcoming, since

the government could have added other forms of valuable support such as much needed training courses.

All in all I feel that the minimum involvement of the government in this specific project was more of a blessing than a shortcoming at the end of the day. Why is this? Because the community was given the necessary space to participate in the decision-making processes, regarding their own development, since the start of the project. No outside ideas were forced onto them.

Furthermore, no group of people involved in the project were ever marginalized during the course of the project. This was mostly made possible by equity sharing where all the benefits derived from the New Beginnings project were equally shared amongst all of its shareholders. Each one of the 16 shareholders (mostly the man of each household) were entitled to their fair share of the profit, with their partner (wife or girlfriend working on the farm) being entitled to half her man's share. This system was specifically implemented to guard against the possibility of certain people being marginalized by not sharing equitably in the benefits derived from development. Interestingly enough, although the majority of the women were actively involved in the project at the beginning, this was not the case later on in the project. They chose to leave the running of the business in the hands of their husbands, because they trusted them to do the right thing. So, all of them do have the option available to attend meetings, but only two of them choose to attend the meetings.

During the course of my interviewing, both individual and focus group interviews, I sensed an attitude of pride and self-confidence from the farm workers. The majority of these people were not only normal farm workers anymore. They were business-minded people working in the field of viticulture. Each one of them saw their task in the value chain of production, whether vineyard worker, cellar assistant or tractor driver, as important in the bigger chain of events, the bigger picture. By participating in the New Beginnings project, on both the level of planning/decision-making as well as the execution of activities, the majority of these farm workers are creative, responsible and self-confident people today. They are not normal farm workers anymore who live from day to day. They are a group of people with long-term plans and a long-term vision.

5.1.3 The principle of *empowerment*

The principle of empowerment is basically about accumulating the *power* in order to be successfully involved in participation. According to the principle of empowerment, participation is the natural result of empowerment. This means that empowered people will participate effectively in development projects. Poor and marginalized people that are usually powerless, because they lack knowledge and understanding, become empowered when they gain in knowledge and understanding. It is thus very important for people to learn during the course of community development. When people grow in knowledge and understanding, it becomes possible for them to not only be involved in decision-making, but also to be meaningfully involved by making *informed decisions*. When people within the community start to make informed decisions, the probability is much higher that their development project will be sustainable.

The New Beginnings project is an excellent example of a community development project where most of the participants were empowered during the course of the development process. According to the principle of empowerment, participation is the natural result of empowerment. Accordingly, the issue of empowerment can be approached in the following manner: Participation at a later stage of the project was usually much better compared to participation in the earlier stages of the project. According to various members of the community, the people within the community communicated much easier with one another these days, regarding various issues within the project, compared to the beginning of the project. They felt that the biggest reason for this was because the community members made a much more useful contribution at a later stage of the project than was the case in the earlier stages of the project, mostly because they were much more informed about various things.

Thus, because the participants had more knowledge at a later stage of the project, they felt more able and thus more powerful than they did in the beginning of the project. To be exact, the participants were more empowered than in the beginning of the

project. Because they were more empowered at a later stage of the project, they were also able to participate in the development process with much greater ease. This is how I come to the conclusion that most of the New Beginnings community members have been empowered.

During the extent of the project, various participants increased their knowledge. Here are a few examples: Some of the women attended needlework classes. Some of the women attended computer lessons at the local school. Most of the men attended viticulture courses. Some of the men attended tractor-driving courses. Some participants attended marketing courses. Some participants attended a small business development course. Some participants attended a business management course. Various other examples can also be listed. My point is that most of the participants experienced a remarkable increase in their educational level. As a result of this more people started to acknowledge these farm workers, which in turn lead to the improvement of their self-esteem. Accordingly, they felt empowered and as proof of this their level of participation within the project improved.



5.1.4 The principle of ownership

The principle of ownership stresses that it is important for the participants to take *ownership* of a development project. When people are empowered they have a stronger sense that the development project actually belongs to them and as a result they will start taking *full responsibility* for their own development. Ownership thus means that the participants realise that they themselves mostly determine their successful development.

The New Beginnings project is an example of a community development project where the majority of the participants do feel that they own their project/business. At the start of the project the farm worker community of Nelson's Creek were very sceptical about the whole idea that they were to own their own business. From that point in time until now, a lot of things have drastically changed for these people.

Today they are aware of the fact that they jointly own their own business. They have this perception because of the very simple reason that each household's level of income has increased. The various participants are very aware of the fact that they have more money today because of the New Beginnings project. For this reason they have developed a feeling of ownership of the business, i.e. the project. The community thus takes care of their communal possession (i.e. the New Beginnings business), because it makes it possible for them to have a higher income and thus a higher standard of living.

It is also very important to note that most of the people within the community are involved in the New Beginnings project/business with a lot of enthusiasm. The majority of the community are very willing to learn new things all of the time. This is evident by the fact that educational and training courses are attended on a regular basis, whenever possible. Outside advice are always welcomed by the community. In the words of one of the participants: "They are always hungry for information." According to two previous chairmen of the committee, it is important to continually ask a lot of questions. They believe that the more questions they ask, the more knowledge they will acquire in the process. They believe that knowledge is the key to successful and sustainable community development projects, especially in the New Beginnings project where it is essential for the survival of the wine business.

The enthusiasm with which the majority of the participants are involved in the New Beginnings business today, is sound proof to me that this community of farm workers have accepted full ownership of the project. During some of my visits to the farm, some of the community members showed me their copies of a signed legal document that proved their partial (one sixteenth) ownership of the New Beginnings business. Their pride while showing me these documents also served as proof to me that these people have accepted full ownership of the project.

5.1.5 The principle of release

The principle of release is all about the freeing of poor people from the *deprivation trap*. The argument goes that poor people need to be freed/released from their deprivation trap, i.e. the vicious circle of poverty that captures them. Once poor

people are freed from the deprivation trap, they can start to gradually improve their own situation. This is where empowerment comes into the picture. Empowerment is the tool that releases people from the poverty trap.

The New Beginnings project is about a community of farm workers that live, together with their families, on the same farm where they work on a daily basis. The point that I am trying to make is that these people are not trapped in absolute poverty. Most of the adults living in the community are employed. The majority of the men work on the wine farm Nelson's Creek, while some of the women also work there. Some of the women also work in the Nelson's Creek restaurant on the farm. In the majority of the households both parents are employed. Each household thus has a stable income.

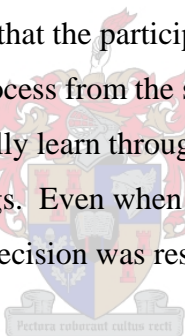
Each one of the 16 households is also living in a neat wooden or brick constructed house, which is owned by their employer. All of the houses in the community are equipped with basic amenities such as electricity, running water, flush toilets etc. The living conditions of the New Beginnings community is thus not as appalling as the living conditions found in most of South Africa's informal settlements. Although these farm workers are much better off than most people living in squatter camps, they are still poor farm workers. Due to the nature of the New Beginnings project (the fact that it is a for-profit wine business), it can be accepted that most of the participants' basic needs are satisfied today. This means that these people are not trapped in the deprivation trap anymore, but rather are free and self-reliant people that are involved in a gradual process to improve their situation themselves.

5.1.6 The principle of learning

The principle of learning stresses the importance for all role-players to learn during the process of development. Learning is central to the development process, because the more skills and knowledge participants acquire, the more *self-reliant* and *self-sufficient* they usually become. To be *informed* is thus to be *empowered*. When participants increase in skills and knowledge they usually also increase in *self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, cooperation* etc. Skills and knowledge thus empowers participants and give them the ability to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems.

The New Beginnings project is an example of a community development project where the principle of learning was part of the project since the start of the project. As I mentioned before, the community were given the opportunity by both the initiator and the facilitator of the project to participate in both project decision-making and project activities. This development approach gave the participants the opportunity to learn from the onset of the project. Added to this, various role-players offered their expertise free of charge to the community (without ever forcing their ideas onto the community). The majority of the participants also attended various courses, which ranged from practical/technical skills courses (e.g. pruning, tractor driving and wine-making) to more theoretical/knowledge courses (e.g. business management and business marketing). All of these factors combined contributed to the broadening of the participants' knowledge base and skills.

What is most important, though, is that the participants were allowed to actively participate in their development process from the start of the project. This gave them the much-needed space to continually learn throughout the project. They were never overpowered and forced to do things. Even when they decided to plant a cash crop at the beginning of the project, their decision was respected. Events such as these gave them the opportunity to learn.



5.1.7 The principle of *adaptability*

The principle of adaptability is closely related to the principle of learning. In order to learn one has to be adaptable or flexible. To be flexible means to be willing to learn new things. This also means that you should embrace error, because in making an error/s one always learns something new. The more adaptable a person is in the development process, the more likely he/she is to learn during the development process.

During the New Beginnings project the community were given the space to do things their way⁵⁹. Both the initiator and the facilitator of the project preferred a development approach of 'learning by doing'. Their wise approach to development set the tone for the various other role-players who also decided to follow this approach. Assistance (in the form of advice) was offered to the community when they needed it, but the final decision was always left in the hands of the community. As a result the community could be nothing else but adaptable during the development process, since they were learning as they were progressing. At times errors were made, but at the end of the day these errors were perceived as valuable opportunities to learn. Both the facilitator and the community thought of trial-and-error episodes as a golden opportunity to gain in much-needed experience.

5.1.8 The principle of *simplicity*

The principle of simplicity puts the emphasis on keeping development projects as straightforward and simple as possible. The tendency is that smaller and simpler projects are usually most successful. The bigger a project is the more complex and sophisticated it becomes. In most cases these bigger projects tend to limit the potential for participants to learn and participate, mostly due to their complex nature. In general, it is better to start off development efforts with small projects and to gradually expand these projects as time goes on.

The New Beginnings project is an excellent example of a community development project that started small. A community of just over 50 people was included in a project that started off with what these people knew best, i.e. viticulture. From this point onwards things were taken step by step up until the point where these people are today, i.e. the proud owners of a wine business that exports wine to countries such as Japan, the Netherlands and the USA. Today, these farm workers are involved in business activities such as administration and marketing. Four of them have been to countries such as England, France, Germany and the Netherlands to market their wine

⁵⁹ Obviously certain parameters were set up to direct the community on their development path, e.g. they had to use the portion of land for agricultural purposes and not for housing and also that it was preferred that they cultivate wine grapes, because this was what they knew best. These parameters were necessary to put them on the right track. Regarding their development path itself, the community

label. Most of them have attended various training courses, which also included business management and marketing courses. It is amazing to think that all of this started off in a vineyard. This project just shows how valuable it is to start off development projects as straightforward and simple as possible.

5.2 A DISCUSSION OF HOW THE NEW BEGINNINGS PROJECT IS DEMONSTRATING HOW SUSTAINABILITY IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS CAN BE ENHANCED

5.2.1 The role of the farm owner

One of the most outstanding features of the New Beginnings project is the role of the farm owner, Alan Nelson, and the relationship that existed between him and the farm worker community. Unlike the highly paternalistic relationship between farm owner (employer) and farm worker community (employees) that is so typical to the South African wine industry, even today, Alan's relationship with his farm worker community wasn't paternalistic at all, but rather remained true to the various community development principles. In this regard he radically differed from previous approaches of behaviour concerning the relationship between farm employer and farm workers.

Instead of exploiting his workers, Alan respected his workers as talented and capable human beings. For starters, as a man true to his word, Alan kept the promise he made to his workers that if they should assist him to make his wine farm a show farm and a champion estate, he would reward them abundantly. As part of the reward, he not only offered a piece of land to his workers, but he also respected their response to it. They had the option available to them that if they did not want to use the piece of land for viticultural purposes, Alan was prepared to buy it back from them.

Furthermore, during the course of the project, Alan never disrespected the decisions of the community. For instance, during the cash crop episode he respected the decision of the community. Since he was against the idea of the community to plant

had the space to do things their way. Assistance from various sources was always readily available, but only when the community demanded such assistance.

the cash crops on the soil that was intended for the planting of the new grape vines, he consequently made an alternative piece of land available to them for the planting of the cash crops. In another instance, Alan agreed to the request of the community to assist them in the running of the New Beginnings business, since it experienced some cash flow problems. As a result, it was agreed that he would carry most of the financial costs regarding the value adding of the wine grapes into a bottled wine product, and in return profits would be shared. Both these instances, as well as others, indicate that Alan's behaviour towards his workers was not directive and paternalistic at all, but rather flexible and accommodating.

So why did Alan Nelson decide to initiate this type of project with his workers? The reason is two-folded. Firstly, as I have already mentioned, he was a man true to his word and he kept his promises. Secondly, he was a businessman with a great vision. During the mid-1990's this kind of initiative was unheard of in the South African wine industry. Taking into consideration the political transformation in South Africa at that point in time, the New Beginnings initiative was an excellent one. Tourists from all over the world visited our shores, and with it the Western Cape wine lands. Alan knew that this type of initiative would attract the tourists' attention, because it was so uncommon in the wine industry, and that it would be a good way to market his wine estate. When tourists visited Nelson's Creek they also visited New Beginnings and vice versa. This visionary initiative thus resulted in a situation where the one hand washed the other, to the benefit of all.

Alan's approach in behaviour towards his workers resulted in a situation where social capital or trustful relationships were created or increased between the various role-players involved in the project, i.e. the farm owner, the facilitator, the community etc. In order for community development projects to be sustainable it is essential that a high level of trust exist among the various role-players. This is exactly what Alan Nelson succeeded in doing, i.e. to build a high level of trust among the various role-players. To illustrate this point, take the beginning of the project into consideration. Alan made an offer to the farm workers, but respected their response to it. This in no way whatsoever affected his relationship with the farm workers. If anything, it only strengthened their relationship. All in all, Alan's approach of behaviour concerning

the relationship between farm owner and farm workers is fundamental for a new dispensation in community upliftment for farm workers.

5.2.2 The role of the facilitator

It is not only the role of the farm owner that is essential in building a high level of trust among various role-players, but even more so the role of the facilitator. The New Beginnings project just shows how vital it is to have a suitable facilitator for a project. Victor Titus was without a doubt the ideal candidate for the job. He shared the same cultural background, spoke the same language and was also from the same racial origin than the farm worker community. As a result, he could associate with them and he also understood their particular background. Because Victor had so much in common with them, the farm workers considered him as one of 'them'. In other words, they didn't think of him as an outsider. As a result, since the start of the project a high level of trust existed between the community and the facilitator.

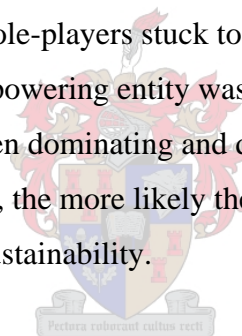
This high level of trust between the community and the facilitator formed the glue that kept the community together and made it possible for the community to work together as a team or unit. The community's trust in the facilitator made it possible that cooperation and coordination between the various role-players could take place faster and easier compared to most other community projects. On the other hand, the facilitator's trust in the New Beginnings committee, even though they did make uninformed decisions at times, eventually resulted in a situation where the committee members and the rest of the community started trusting each other. As a result, the New Beginnings project explicitly shows how fundamental a suitable facilitator is in the building of social capital among various role-players, which in effect would ultimately result in the sustainability of development projects.

As a final point: Another indication of sustainability would be if the community could continue with their affairs in the absence of the facilitator. By definition a facilitator in community development is a temporary position. Regarding the New Beginnings project, the facilitator has already left the group and the community is carrying on with their affairs on their own.

5.2.3 Minimal government involvement

Unlike most community development projects where government officials do things their way in a top-down structure, the New Beginnings project was a project where government involvement was minimal. The various government departments, i.e. the National Department of Land Affairs and the Provincial Department of Agriculture, were only involved in the project in a supportive role. They largely supported the project through financial aid.⁶⁰

Keeping the successes of the New Beginnings project in mind, minimum government involvement in a project doesn't seem to always be a bad thing. I believe that the minimum government involvement in this specific project played a substantial role in creating a healthy environment for Alan and Victor to build social capital among the various role-players. Because the government was only minimally involved in the project, and the majority of the role-players stuck to the various community development principles, no overpowering entity was involved in the project to enforce a top-down approach. Thus, when dominating and directive role-players are kept to a minimum in community projects, the more likely these projects would be to build agency and solidarity and thus sustainability.



5.2.4 Low financial risk

The farming land was donated to the farm worker community. This meant that the whole government grant (pooled sum total of R240 000) could be used for agricultural activities, i.e. to further increase the capital value of the land. The result was that all financial risk was removed from the project.

⁶⁰ Hereby I am not implying that the government should be excluded during community development projects. For this specific community project financial aid from the government was enough assistance from the government to result in the success of the project. Regarding other community projects, such limited support from the government would most of the time be insufficient. Furthermore, I am also not implying that the government is the only role-player that might force their ideas onto people. Any professional role-player, including private individuals and organisations (e.g. NGO's), can force their ideas onto people.

According to Tregurtha (2004: 22) one of the biggest problems faced by agricultural development projects is that the largest amount of the pooled government grant is usually used to purchase the farming land. In cases such as these, which are the majority of cases, not enough grant money is left after the purchasing of the farming land, to finance the input costs of the farming business. The result is that a financial loan has to be made in order to finance the various business activities. Although these loans are special priced loans (averaging at 3% below prime rate), they tend to have dire consequences for most projects in the longer term.

As a general rule, it seems that the higher the financial risk is in agricultural development projects, the lower the chances for success become. In the New Beginnings case no financial loan had to be made at the start of the project. Furthermore, the community also had a very conservative approach to making debt throughout the whole duration of the project. As an example of this, they opted to rather plant cash crops in the beginning of the project to get their cash flow going, than to borrow money from a financial institution. Their conservative approach to making debt is still the same today, as is evident by the launch of their 'Adopt-A-Vine' project in middle 2004 in order to fund the planting of the remainder of their land. In the wise words of the current New Beginnings Chairman: "We have heard of too many other farming empowerment projects failing because the farmers borrow lots of money from the bank. We do not want to make the same mistake!" Thus, the lower the financial risk is in agricultural projects, the higher the likelihood becomes for these projects to be sustainable.

5.2.5 Profit sharing

Since the approach of profit sharing has been implemented in the New Beginnings project, the business has been running much more smoothly financially. Alan Nelson covered the majority of the costs of the New Beginnings business (vineyard management costs, winemaking costs, and bottling, labelling, packaging, marketing and distribution costs) and in return profits were shared. The profit sharing initiative (initiated by the community themselves) resulted in the strengthening of an ever-increasing wine business. Except for agency and solidarity building within the community, this type of project, i.e. a for-profit winemaking project (or any other

agricultural project), also necessitates a sound financial situation within the business to make sustainability possible.

5.3 CONCLUSION

My analysis has showed that community development practice should aim to achieve both agency and solidarity for community projects to be sustainable. If one scans through community development literature in general, it becomes noticeable to the reader that the majority of writers put more emphasis on the agency building side of the community development process. It is essential that we don't underestimate the value of the solidarity factor in community development practice. This was clearly illustrated in my case. Ultimately, community development is all about the building of constructive relationships among various role-players. It is in working together that projects succeed and sustain. Individual empowerment or the capacity building of a few, to the detriment of the masses, cannot be called community development. It should be called exactly what it is, person development. True community development is the building and maintaining of social capacity.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the course of this research study I have maintained that community development is essentially about the building of both agency and solidarity. By pursuing both these interrelated goals of community development, community development practice would result in the sustainability of community projects. In other words, the methods or techniques for the practice of community development should be appropriate and consistent with the goal of agency and solidarity, if the sustainability of community projects is to be achieved.



My case study has showed how imperative it is for community development practice to abide by crucial guiding principles such as a human orientation, participation, empowerment, ownership, self-help, learning, adaptability and simplicity. When central role-players remain true to these community development principles, both agency and solidarity would be built during the community development process.

The main purpose of this research study is to show the reader that a community development process is needed to uplift the numerous poor wine farm worker communities in South Africa. In community development terminology, wine farm worker communities in South Africa tend to lack both agency and solidarity. Thus, when these communities are involved in a community development process that seeks to build social capacity (agency and solidarity), the end result would be the sustainability of projects, and with it the upliftment of whole farm communities.

To conclude: As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, up to date, little, if any, academic/scientific documentation has been compiled on the various development initiatives that are currently taking place in the South African wine industry. A great need thus exists to conduct academic/scientific studies on these cases/projects.

The more of these projects are documented, the more valuable lessons can be taken from these projects, both positive and negative, that can serve as guiding lights regarding future similar projects, in the wine industry as well as other agricultural industries.

As an example of a future study, the approach I have used in this specific research study can be used in a more elaborate study where various projects can be analysed in a similar fashion. This would enable the researcher to compare cases with one another. As a result, the findings of the research will be less case study-specific and more applicable in a wider social setting, e.g. the whole wine industry.



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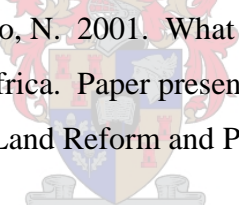
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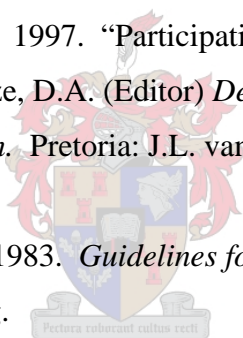
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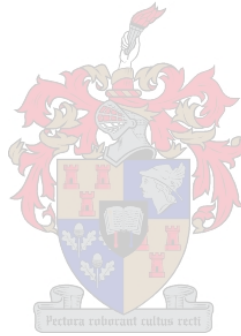
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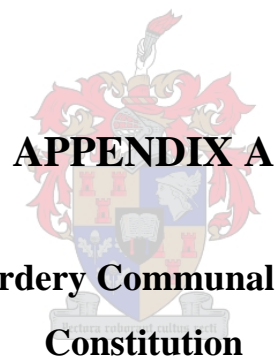
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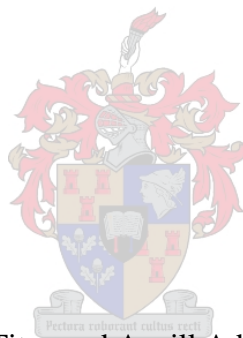




APPENDIX A

The Klein Begin Boerdery Communal Property Association Constitution

The Klein Begin Boerdery Communal Property Association Constitution
(A working example of the Communal Property Association Act no.28 of 1996)



Prepared by Victor Titus and Anzill Adams, July 1997 of the
Department of Land Affairs on behalf of Klein Begin Boerdery.

Preamble to the Klein Begin Boerdery Project:

The project intends to settle 16 marginalized farm labourer families into a commercially viable farming enterprise, through using their own skills as seasoned workers in the wine industry. This approach will be two-fold:- (1) a long term perspective where Shiraz and Cabernet cultivars will be planted (2) a short term perspective where cash crops will be planted to initiate a cash-flow, to obtain long term objective.

The 16 farm worker families will receive a piece of prime agricultural land, Approximately 8.9 hectares in size, from the owner and current employer, Adv. Alan Nelson, in recognition for their services in establishing the Nelson's Creek Wine Estate into the Champion wine estate it is today.

The constitution was formulated through a consultative process and concludes the chapter that will enable and guide the workers to become effective in the decision making process.

The Communal Property Association aims to serve the needs of the Klein Begin Boerdery Association.

INDEX

Matters addressed in the Constitution through following clauses:

1. Establishment of the Association
2. Name of the Association
3. Definitions and Interpretations
4. The aims and objectives of the Association
5. Principle of Equity
6. The Committee
7. The Powers of the Committee
8. Procedures at a Committee Meeting
9. Restricted Powers of the Committee
10. Special Business
11. Membership
12. Membership Rights
13. Disciplinary Matters and Membership Termination
14. General Meetings
15. Annual General Meetings
16. Procedures at General Meetings
17. Financial Matters
18. Land Use
19. Mediation of Disputes
20. The Court as Protector
21. Indemnity
22. Dissolution
23. Amendments



The Constitutional Clauses (1 – 24):

1. The Establishment of the Association

1.1 An Association is hereby established in terms of Section 2 (6) of the Communal Property Associations Act of 1996, (ACT No. 28 of 1996) for the Objectives of the Association and will be subject to the terms and conditions as Made known in the Constitution and the ACT.

1.2 This Association shall be constituted for an indefinite period of time, terminable in the manner and subject to compliance with the formalities stipulated in this constitution.

2. The name of the Association

2.1 The name of the Association shall be “The Klein Begin Boerdery Communal Property Association” and the abbreviated name shall be “The Klein Begin Boerdery Association”.

2.2 The address of the Association for all purposes including the service of any Court processes shall be:

P.O.Box

Windmeul

2.3 The Committee shall have the power, as stipulated in clause 10 of this Constitution, to change the name of the Association.

3. Definitions and Interpretations:

In this Constitution, unless indicated otherwise, words referring to singular include plural and words referring to male include female; and the following words shall have the following meaning:

- 3.1 The ACT - The Communal Property Associations Act, 1996;
Act no. 28 of 1996.
- 3.2 Member - Any person, 18 years and older that qualifies in terms of
the land reform policy of the Department of Land
Affairs for the R15 000 grant, who are permanent
Workers at the Nelson's Creek Wine Estate, that upon
Application is nominated and selected by the general
Meeting in compliance with clause 11 of this
Constitution.
- 3.3 Improper Conduct - any action by a member (including corruption, nepotism
and offences referred to in Section 14 of the ACT) that
could prevent the Association from achieving its
objectives.
- 3.4 Principle of Equity - this overriding principle governing the acts and
decisions of the community is the quality or condition
of being just and unbiased as is stipulated in Clause 5
of the Constitution.
- 3.5 The Association - The Association as constituted in terms of this
constitution and the ACT.

- 3.6 Committee - Those people elected in terms of Clause 6 of this Constitution and such persons (including juristic persons) as may from time to time be elected and or co-opted to serve as committee members in terms of Clauses 6 and 10 of this Constitution.
- 3.7 Department - the Department of Land Affairs or its appointed successor.
- 3.8 Director General - the Director of the Department of Land Affairs.

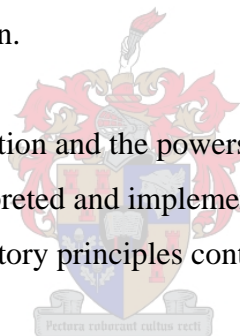
4. Aims and Objectives of the Association:

- 4.1 The main objective of the Association will be to hold the 8.9 ha of land allocated to the members by the owner of Nelson's Creek Wine Estate. The Association will use the land for agricultural purposes for the benefit of all its Members subject to conditions of this Constitution and the ACT.
- 4.2 The Association will have the following secondary objectives:
- (a) to acquire in its own name for the benefit and on behalf of its members, property whether movable or immovable.
 - (b) to provide appropriate infrastructure and amenities (e.g. crèche, clinics, roads, housing and other social and recreational facilities).
 - (c) to develop agricultural initiatives and opportunities for small scale farming enterprises in order to create jobs, in particular for the women of Klein Begin Boerdery Association.
 - (d) to enter into agreements with any outside party whose involvement with the Association will be of benefit to all the members of the Association.

- (e) to act in a manner that will address poverty, unemployment and the socio-economic needs amongst all the members of the Association.

5. Principle of Equity


- 5.1 The Powers of the Association and its Committee shall be exercised and implemented at all times in accordance with the principles of fairness, justice and non-discrimination in terms of all assets, rights and interests to the mutual benefit of all members.
- 5.2 The Association or Committee can enter into agreement involving differentiation between members provided that a bona fide attempt is made to find an equitable solution.
- 5.3 The terms of this constitution and the powers of the Association and the Committee shall be interpreted and implemented in a manner consistent with the objectives of the statutory principles contained in Section 9 of the Act.



6. The Committee

- 6.1 The Committee will be responsible for implementing and upholding this constitution and undertakes the management of the Association subject to the instructions of the members at a General Meeting.
- 6.2 At the 1st Annual General Meeting (AGM), people are elected to form the Committee. The appointment of the Committee members will be for a period of 2 (two) years ending at the second AGM. This procedure is to be repeated every 2 years with the aim of members electing a Committee democratically.

Members of the Committee will be elected and appointed by means of a Majority vote at AGM.

- 6.3 The Committee shall comprise of 7 members, preferably all from different households. It will include a chairperson, a vice-chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer and 3 additional members. The Association shall have the power to elect new members to the committee under special circumstances (e.g. death, resignation, disqualification, removal, discharged, etc.) as stipulated in clause 10 of this constitution.
- 6.4 At least 2-3 of the 7 members will be female members notwithstanding the fact that they could occupy any position on the committee. If any eligible female candidate is not elected or if the positions allocated to women are not filled, the Association will co-opt, in accordance with clause 10 of this constitution.
- 6.5 The committee shall have the right to form sub-committees in order to effectively manage the affairs of the Association and to make the decision-making process more representative. The committees shall have the right to terminate the appointment of any sub-committee or sub-committee member.
- 6.6 The office/position of a Committee Member shall be vacated if:-
- 
- (a) he/she dies or tenders a resignation in writing
 - (b) he/she becomes of unsound mind
 - (c) he/she becomes unfit and/or incapable of acting in this capacity
 - (d) he/she is found guilty of misconduct or improper conduct as defined by section 14 of the ACT.
 - (e) he/she is absent for more than 3 consecutive meetings without apology or if it becomes apparent that s/he is unable to perform his/her duties.
- 6.7 The members may, by means of a two-thirds majority, be entitled to remove any one or more of the Committee members, as they consider to be necessary

and in the interests of the Association at a Special General Meeting, as stipulated in clause 10 of this constitution. Notice of such a Special General Meeting must be given in writing 21 days (3 weeks) in advance, which shall state the intention of the meeting.

6.8 Justice in the pursuit of equity (clause 5) shall be adhered to at all times when Removing a Committee member and shall include:-

1. the committee member shall be informed of the charges against him/her timeously in order to prepare his/her defence.
2. the person shall have the opportunity to address the Committee or members at the Special General Meeting, with reference to the issues at hand.
3. the person shall have the right to be assisted or represented by another member.
4. the person shall be informed of the outcome of the decision and will be given reasons for the decision in writing.

6.9 If a Committee member is unable to attend a Committee meeting, s/he shall have the right to appoint any other Committee member as his/her proxy, provided that:-

- (a) a Committee member does not make use of a proxy in 3 consecutive meetings (See clause 6.6 (e)).
- (b) a Decision taken by a proxy will be considered the decision of his/her principal only if verified in writing.

7. The Power of the Committee

The Committee is hereby vested with all powers and discretions necessary to enable them to fulfil the aims and objectives of the Association in accordance with the terms of this Constitution. The Committee shall be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Association, subject to the constraints and limitations stipulated in this Constitution, including but not limited to, the constraints stipulated in clauses 9 and 10.

8. The Procedures at Committee Meetings

8.1 The Committee organises its meetings and execute its duties as it deems appropriate, but under the following conditions:

(a) The Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson are elected at the AGM together with the rest of the Committee for a term of office (see Clause 15).

(b) The Chairperson or Deputy has the discretion to convene a meeting from time to time, but is obliged to convene a Special Committee meeting on request of at least 2 (two) Committee Members. The notice of such a meeting must be given in writing at least 7 (seven) days prior to the meeting unless, in special circumstances, and urgent meeting is required, in which case notice shall be given in a manner prescribed by the Chairperson or Deputy Chairperson. Notice of Special Meetings must include the agenda for this meeting.

8.2 The quorum required at committee meeting shall be more than 50% of the members serving at any given time.

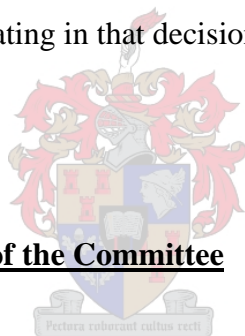
8.3 A committee member has one vote and disputes are settled by a majority vote.

8.4 In the event of a tied vote, the Chairperson will have a final and decisive casting vote.

8.5 Minutes of all committee meetings must be kept and signed by the

Chairperson.

- 8.6 Minutes of the committee meetings shall be made available to any member of the Association upon request.
- 8.7 A decision signed by a quorum of Committee members, has the same validity as a decision taken by the Committee at a duly constituted committee meeting.
- 8.8 Members of the Association are entitled to attend committee meetings and the Chairperson may allow such a member to address the committee. However, such a member is not allowed to vote in the committee meeting.
- 8.9 A committee member who has an interest that is greater than his own interest as a normal member in any matter before the committee shall recuse him/herself from participating in that decision.



9. The Restricted Powers of the Committee

The powers of the committee members may be limited by the terms of special resolution passed at a General Meeting, duly convened, and constituted in the manner provided as follows:

- 9.1 the powers of the committee members shall be limited in so far that any matter constituting Special Business, unless stated otherwise by means of a special resolution taken at a Special General meeting, may not be undertaken as per clause 10 of this constitution.

10. Special Business

- 10.1 No decision of the Committee or of a General Meeting, involving a matter which represents Special Business shall be binding unless it has been approved either generally or specifically as follows:

- (a) In terms of a special resolution passed at a Special General Meeting duly convened in the manner stipulated in this Constitution, on condition that the notice convening such a meeting shall state the nature of the Special Business.

10.2 The following matters shall be considered special matters:

- (a) Any transaction as described by Section 12 (1) of the Act, including the proposed disposal or encumbrance of any immovable property or real right in property to which the Association may have a right or expect to obtain a right, whether by sale, lease, donation, exchange mortgage, etc.
- (b) Any changes in above mentioned mission statement, aims and objectives
- (c) The granting of membership to any person other than the initial founder members whose names are reflected in Annexure A of this constitution and as per clause 11(.2) hereinafter.
- (d) Amendment of rules regarding Land Use as reflected in clause 19.

10.3 Any amendment to the Constitution or the dissolving of the Association must be passed at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose provided that such a decision is passed by a majority of two-thirds of all members whose names are reflected on the membership list at any given time.

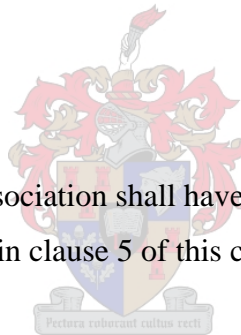
11. **Membership**

- 11.1 Founding membership of the Association shall be open to all those adult residents of Nelson's Creek Wine Estate, provided that the member or the members partner is in permanent employment at Nelson's Creek.

- 11.2 Every household acquires an equal and undivided share in the assets of the Association.
- 11.2 Any new member wishing to join Klein Begin Boerdery Association shall apply to the General Meeting for membership and this application shall be discussed at a Special Meeting as per clause 10 of the Association. The Association has the right to accept or refuse any new membership.
- 11.3 Special membership may be awarded to any person or group of persons by a Special General Meeting of the Association, provided that such a person or persons demonstrate the ability to make a valuable contribution to the well-being of all the members of the Association. Such person or persons shall have no voting rights and will not benefit financially from their membership of the Association.

12. Membership Rights

- 12.1 Every member of this Association shall have equal rights within the Association as stipulated in clause 5 of this constitution.
- 12.2 Every member shall have access to communal land and other communal facilities and amenities as specified in clause 5.
- 12.3 Every member shall have an equal vote in the General meeting and decision shall be taken by a simple majority.
- 12.4 All members shall have equal shares in any profit of the Association.
- 12.5 All members have the right to use their share of the profits at their own discretion.
- 12.6 Founder and new members wishing to leave the Association are entitled to be paid out the amount that his/her shares are worth at the time of leaving, provided that the assets are not withdrawn within the first 5 years of the



Associations existence.

- 12.7 The Association retains the right to obtain first opinion on the shares of departing members. In the event of the Association not being able to realise this option, the owner of Nelson's Creek has the right to obtain this option to purchase, provided that such shares are transferred to a permanent employee of Nelson's Creek.
- 12.8 Any person who is part of the Association shall have the right of access to any documents, minutes, reports, or any information whatsoever pertaining to any business of the Association.
- 12.9 Members shall obtain the right to remain part of the Association upon retiring from Nelson's Creek Wine Estate. The "retired" member shall have the reserved right to sell his/her part of the Association paid out to him/her as shall be decided upon as Special Business in clause 10 (.2)(a) of this Constitution.

13. Disciplinary Matters and Membership Termination

- 13.1 Membership will terminate on the following grounds:
- (a) Upon the written resignation signed by 2 (two) members of the household.
 - (b) Any member found guilty of misconduct as defined in Section 14 of the ACT will automatically be expelled from Nelson's Creek and the Association.
 - (c) Any member whose employment is terminated at Nelson's Creek due to actions other than those stipulated in Section 14 of the ACT, will automatically have their membership reviewed by a Special Meeting of the Association. The Association shall decide by a two-thirds majority in favour of retaining such membership.

14. General Meetings

General Meetings will at least four times a year as shall be decided upon at the 1st AGM by the Association. The General Meeting shall be the medium, unless stated otherwise in terms of clause 10, whereby member will be able to participate in the decision making of the Association. Only matters that require the consent of the Association shall be addressed at the General Meeting, as prescribed by the Act or this Constitution, with due regard that:

- (a) Notice of General Meetings shall be given in writing 7 days prior to the meeting to all members whose name appear on the membership list at any given time.

15. Annual General Meetings



The second AGM shall be conducted within two years from the date of registration of the Association, and the subsequent AGM will be held within 3 (three) months of the end of the financial year. The agenda of the AGM shall include the following:

- (a) the submission and approval of the written Annual report by the Committee.
- (b) the financial year report
- (c) the election of Committee members
- (d) such other matters deemed appropriate

16. Procedures at General Meetings

- 16.1 General Meetings will be held when the appropriate but the Committee should meet at least four times a year..
- 16.2 Special General Meetings as concluded in clause 10 of this constitution shall be held when need arises and not to be contradictory to clause 16.1
- 16.3 The notice of the General Meeting shall in accordance with clause 14 (b).
- 16.4 The Chairperson and in his/her absence, the Deputy Chairperson of the Committee acts as Chairperson at a General Meeting. In the absence of both Chairperson and deputy chairperson, a chairperson will be appointed in terms of Clauses 8.1 (b) and 8.2.
- 16.5 Any decision that has to be taken at a General Meeting is decided by voting, with regard to the principles stated in clause 12.3.
- 16.6 In the event of a tied vote, the Chairperson will have a casting vote.
- 16.7 A quorum for any General Meeting shall be 50% +1.
- 16.8 In the event of a quorum not being reach, the meeting shall be adjourned for 14(fourteen) days during which time, written notice shall be given to all the Members where reasonably possible.

17. Financial Matters

- 17.1 The Committee shall ensure that the Association at all times keep proper financial records. Financial records are drafted at least once a year according to accepted accounting principles and practices, and must clearly reflect the financial position of the Association. Such financial records shall be made available at the AGM and shall be audited and certified by an independent, practising chartered accountant.

17.2 A copy of the financial statements shall be made available to all Committee Members two weeks prior to the AGM and copies shall be made available to ordinary members at the AGM.

17.3 All contracts, cheques, promissory notes and documents require three signatories to be decided upon by the Committee.

18. Land Use

The Communal land shall be used in a manner as decided upon by the Members of the Association at a General Meeting provided that such a decision shall not prejudice any Existing rights of a Member without the consent of that Member.

19. Mediation of Disputes

19.1 Disputes between Members will be mediated by the Committee; disputes between a Member and the Committee will be settled by an independent mediator appointed by the Director General in accordance with Section 10 (2) and (3) and (4); disputes between Committee Members will be settled by an independent mediator appointed by the Director General according to Section 10 (2) and (3) and (4).

19.2 Any aggrieved party will have the right to appeal to the Director General and the court for appropriate relief and redress.

19.3 The cost of any mediation will be for the account of the parties to the dispute and will not be the responsibility of the Association.

20. The Court as Protector

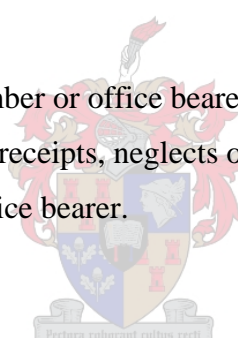
Any Member or Committee Member reserves the right to apply to court for appropriate relief or redress in the event of any refusal or failure on the part of the

Committee to give proper effect to the principle of equity stipulated in clause 5 of this

constitution, or to implement the terms of this constitution, in accordance with its intent and purpose.

21. Indemnity

- 21.1 All Committee Members and all other office bearers shall be indemnified by the Association in respect of authorised acts done in good faith on behalf of the Association.
- 21.2 It shall be the duty of the Association to pay all legitimate and reasonable costs and expenses which any such person may have incurred or become liable for implementing the instructions of the Committee.
- 21.3 The Committee, any member or office bearer of the Association, shall not be held responsible for acts, receipts, neglects or defaults of any other Committee member, member and office bearer.



22 Dissolution

- 22.1 In the case of dissolution, all the assets of the organisation shall be wound up and all remaining assets passed to another organisation which has similar aims to those of the Klein Begin Boerdery.
- 22.2 Should no such organisation exist, the assets will be passed on to any other charitable trust or organisation not for gain which promotes the interests of farm workers in South Africa.

24. Amendments

The Association has the right at a Special Meeting, as stipulated in clause 10, to amend any clause or add a new clause of above mentioned clauses become

insufficient from time to time.

The crest of the University of Cambridge, featuring a shield with four lions, a book, and a cross, surrounded by a red and white wreath.

APPENDIX B

Example of Minutes of New Beginnings Committee Meeting

MINUTES

MEETING HELD ON 29/10/99

PRESENT: MR. NELSON, CARL, OUNIE, DANNY, PIET, SOLLY, VICTOR.

1. MATTERS FROM PREVIOUS MINUTES

- 1.1 Did not discuss the previous minutes.

2. GENERAL FARMWORK

- 2.1 Arthur, Daantjie and Klong – the same issues, absence from duties, final warning. Talk to the people, they are going to get fired, encourage them.
- 2.2 Try to arrange New Beginnings meetings outside work hours. Regarding Piet, keep control over hours given to New Beginnings and amend salaries.

3. VINES

- 3.1 A little bit behind with work
- 3.2 For the brackish/bad patches in the Chardonnay block – put “slow release” pills in the soil and cover with straw.

4. CELLAR

- 4.1 Get prices for an industrial vacuum cleaner.
- 4.2 Make a list of the workers that will receive and welcome the cars.
- 4.3 OPENING

- Guests receive nametags at the table at the bottom of the stairs.
- Receive guests at the tasting-area, “New Beginnings punch”.
- Victor welcome guests and distribute programmes
- Conference facilities – Mr. Nelson will speak a few words and introduce Dr. Dawie van Veldin.
- Dr. Van Veldin – speech
- Victor tells guests to go to the restaurant.
- Guests move down to the restaurant.
- Victor introduces Carl.
- Carl introduces the wine
- Guests taste the wine and enjoy the snacks
- Wine writers can have a chat with Carl

WHAT HAS TO BE DONE

- clean chairs
- material/sheet must be measured against the board and must be fastened with nails.
- Get CV of Danie van Veldin
- Ask daughters of Rusty & Danny to help.
- Put some plants at the staircase
- Arrange for a projector
- Fix lights – Piet must cement the one that’s loose. (put in curl lights)
- Grass – Fertilize it this evening
- Wine writers – Carl must invite them personally.
- Gys & Irma of Sanlam.
- Ask Ilze to cater for 50 guests. Mr. Nelson will provide additional ham.

BURGER

- Victor to arrange photo’s (2)
- Buy pretty tablecloth

*Gun safe must be moved to the cellar and get bolted to the wall in the shed.

*Ask Paul Wallis for standby when Carl goes on holiday

*Mr. Nelson must write a letter to Kreko regarding the wine – cannot supply everything to them

* Get a plumber to change the lab. in the bathroom.

*Arrangements to be made regarding the “workshop” 7/8 January next year (Montague Springs).

